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EMBLEM AND MOTTO

The Wealth, both Material and Cultural, of the Past, from which has arisen the Wealth of the Present and from which will grow the Wealth of the Future, is the subject-matter of Archaeology. The Wealth of the three Kālas is symbolised as

Ś R Ī

Seated on Purity, the Lotus, which rises from Plenty, the Waters, and in the midst of the Hordes of Substances, the Nidhis, the Treasures,—which, though symbolically nine, are usually mentioned, for clarity, as two, the Śankha (Conch) and the Padma (Lotus) Nidhis,—shone upon by the Light given off by the Substances and lustrated by Elephants who are the Showerers of the Wealth of the Quarters, She causes Wealth to be attained to by Effort, without any giving by Her and without any coming by Her to give, She lacking feet that could walk and hands that could give.

VIJÑĀNAM BRAHMA

KNOWLEDGE IS TRUTH

The ancient injunction is: Meditate on Knowledge obtained from Special Enquiry, For It is Truth. The Archaeologist, in his specialised ways, seeks Knowledge for Truth.

The Sketch copies a sculptured piece of about the 9th century A.D., from Kāvēripākkam, near Kāñchīpuram.

The Motto, which is taken from *Taittirīya* Upanishad, being in Samskṛta, is also rendered in the representative languages of the South, and is written in the most ancient characters used for the several languages, as well.

PREFACE

This the fourth volume of the Transactions makes its appearance more than eighteen months after the third volume. Our hope that this volume would appear before twelve months were out has not been fulfilled. The time taken by the contributors to send in their final script, the scarcity of suitable paper, and the careful selection of the articles, are some of the factors contributing to the delay. It is an uphill task in this ancient country to be strictly punctual, and we must thank ourselves that we are not later than what we are!

The task of unravelling the past and of solving ticklish problems, like the origin of the Chōḷas, Cheras, Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas, 'the originators of our famous eras,' and the beginnings of South Indian history, pre-history and proto-history, goes on apace. The old scholars, like Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Messrs T. G. Aravamuthan, T. K. Venkataraman, T. N. Subramaniam, K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, S. T. Srinivasagopalachari and Doctors N. Venkataramanayya, V. Raghavan and J. T. Cornelius continue to work as hard as ever, and new and younger men, like Drs. T. V. Mahalingam, and K. K. Pillay and Messrs K. R. Srinivasan and P. R. Srinivasan are coming to the front. These have lifted some veils from the dark patches of our history. But,

Veil after veil they lift,
But there is veil upon veil behind!

It will take a long time before the last veil is lifted, and we see the real face of the Indus valley race and script, the real originators of our eras, and the true beginnings of the Pāṇḍyas, Cheras, Chōḷas and Pallavas. We need not be depressed by this fact, as right effort gives far more joy than the results.

It is good to note that our eminent historian, Professor Nilakanta Sastri, has become the Director of the newly-established Institute of Traditional Cultures and is doing yeoman work there by holding seminars on vital topics of our culture and arts.

We are determined to go on with our efforts, leaving the results to God. It may be true, as A. J. Balfour has said, "The energies of our solar system will decay, the glory of the sun will

be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race which for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit, and all his thoughts will perish", but we shall go on with our thoughts about the past till we perish!

The articles in this Volume, though few, will, I am sure, be of great interest. Mr. K. R. Srinivasan has written a learned and absorbing article on the megalithic monuments of South India. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam has written a searching and scholarly paper on the Kuḷidikki inscription of Vijaya Nandiśvaravarman, Mr. P. R. Srinivasan has dealt with deep knowledge and sympathy on some rare sculptures in Kumbhakoṇam. And Mr. T. N. Subramaniam has contributed two monumental articles on the Paḷḷaṉkōvil Jaina Copper-plate grant of the early Pallava Period (the earliest we have secured in Tamil and in Tamilnad) as well as on the Paḷḷaṉkōvil Fragmentary Copper-plate grant of the early Chōḷa period, considerably adding to our knowledge of early Pallava and Chōḷa history. I hope that the readers will agree that this volume does not fall behind its predecessors in quality and interest.

In conclusion, I thank the Government of Madras for their generous grant, all the speakers and contributors for their speeches and writings, the members for their hearty co-operation and increased attendance at meetings, the Editorial Sub-Committee for the trouble it has taken in selecting the articles, editing the volume and seeing it through the press, and the G. S. Press for the neat printing and get-up of the volume.

"Gita", Madras-31, A. S. P. Ayyar,
6-3-1960. *President.*

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THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF SOUTH INDIA—LITERATURE AND TRADITION *

By

K. R. SRINIVASAN

Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, (Temple Survey Project), Government of India, Madras

Much useful information has been published in two recent papers on Megaliths, one by Professor Gordon Childe[1] and another by Mr. Krishnaswami,[2] in the issues of Ancient India. The former discusses the monuments on a wider context and the latter attempts a morphological classification of the types met with in South India.

South India abounds in monuments of this kind. As the general name would indicate, the megalithic (Gk. *megas*=great, *lithos*=*stone*) monuments are erections or constructions of large stones usually, but not invariably, rough and unhewn. Based on their morphology and surface features they are described as alignment, avenue, barrow, cairn, cist, dolmen, hoodstone, menhir, rock-cut cave, sarcophagus, stone circle, umbrella-stone, urn-burial etc., to mention only the more well known types in South India.

Alignment denotes a series of menheirs arranged in lines on a definite system while an avenue is the result of two or more approximately parallel alignments.

Barrow is a mound (tumulus) and made of earth and may be either circular on plan, when it is called a round barrow, or oblong or oval in plan, when it is called a long barrow. It may or may not contain a stone cist, built on or below the surface of the ground. It may or may not be defined by a circle of stones, or a ditch, or both.

* Paper read at the meeting of the Society held on 27-10-1953.

1. V. Gordon Childe, *Megaliths*, Ancient India No. 4, (1947-48).

2. V. D. Krishnaswami, *Megalithic Types of South India*, Ancient India, No. 5, (1949).

Cairn is a barrow made of heaped-up stone rubble. Otherwise it may resemble any of the various types of barrows.

Cist is a box-grave built of stone slabs, normally below the natural surface of the ground. Usually, but not necessarily, it consists of a single stone or orthostat for each side and a cover or capstone on top; it may also have a floor stone. One of the orthostats is sometimes pierced with a circular, or semi-circular, or trapezoidal, opening, called a port-hole, and a cist with such an opening is called the port-hole cist. Cists are described as small, when they are up to three feet in length internally, and large, when exceeding that size. A large cist built above the natural surface of the ground and three feet or more in height may be described as a dolmen.

Dolmen (Celtic: *Dol*=table, *men*=stone), denotes a structure where a single slab of stone is supported by several orthostatic boulders or slabs built on the surface of the ground in such a way as to enclose a space or chamber beneath the cap stone. A dolmen may be with or without a port-hole.

Hood stone is a dome-shaped dressed laterite stone resting with its flat surface on the ground, a type of burial restricted to the Kerala region and locally called *kuḍa-kallu.*

Menhir is the simplest megalithic type consisting of a single monolithic erection at or near a burial spot.

Rock-cut caves are tombs containing the remains of the dead, cut into the laterite rock in Kerala.

Sarcophagus, a baked earthenware or terracotta box-like container, often with many legs or feet.

Stone circle, as its name implies, is a circle (sometimes oval or irregular in plan) made of stones, boulders or slabs.

Umbrella stone, again peculiar to the Kerala region, consists of a domical laterite stone resting on top of four quadrantal clinostatic stones joining up together at the base into a square and dressed so as to give the shape of a truncated paraboloid to the entire monument.

Urn-burial in this context would include tombs where the remains are interred in pyriform earthenware urns with a stone slab, above, placed near the surface of the ground, and superficially marked off by a stone circle, with often a cairn inside.

However, a single megalithic monument may be a complex of two or more of the above forms, as for instance, cists, inside stone circles and below cairns or dolmens of a similar nature. In between dolmens and cists, there may be types which may be called dolmenoid-cists, in that they are partly buried and partly above ground.

The one feature that seems to connect all these diverse types is the character of the grave goods found associated with them, particularly the fine wheel made, polished, red and black pottery and iron implements. Some of the types of pottery are commonly found in all these monuments, and even the graffiti, or 'potter's marks' as they are called, found occasionally as after-firing scratches of definite patterns on some of the ware from different types of megaliths are identical or closely resemble one another. The characteristic red and black ware is the product of a special firing technique called the 'inverted firing technique', the black and red resulting from contact of the fabric with the reducing and oxidising parts of the fire.

The South Indian megaliths thus form a class by themselves, differing from the north Indian (Assam, Bastar, Chota-Nagpur etc.) megaliths, in that they are invariably sepulchral in character. The South Indian types belong to the iron age. They are seemingly linked up structurally with the Mediterranean and European and near-eastern megaliths in their architectural features, port-holes etc., yet they are separated by special and chronological gaps. The most distinctive feature is that the South Indian megaliths have yielded implements of iron or at least wheel made pottery of the iron age.

According to the evidence afforded by the recent excavations at Brahmagiri[3] (North Mysore) the megalithic culture flourished there in the last quarter of the first millennium B.C. and extended up to the middle of the first century A.D. This more or less firm dating is corraborated by Dr. Subba Rao's excavation in Bellary and by Col. Tucker's find, among the usual grave goods, of a coin of the Eran type of the 3rd—2nd centuries B.C., deep inside a port-holed cist at Sulur near Palladam in the Coimbatore District. The find in Arikamedu of the distinctive megalithic fabric, intermingled with typical Arikamedu pottery of the early or middle

3. R. E. M. Wheeler, *Brahmagiri and Chandravalli*, Ancient India, No. 4, (1947).

1st century A.D. lends force to the above dating. A similar overlap has been recorded from Chandravalli and the association is further confirmed by the finds of the recent excavations at Sengamēḍu. With these other pieces of evidence though scrappy *viz.*, Garrow's find of silver coin of Augustus (23 B.C.—14 A.D.) along with punch marked coins in a megalithic tomb and the find of russet coloured pottery having a general similarity with the yellow painted 'Andhra ware', in a port-holed cist in Cochin are in general concordance.

Fortunately for us we have extant a collection of almost contemporary and slightly late literature in the Tamil country, *viz.*, the *Sangam* and post-*Sangam* periods covering the first six centuries A.D. and definitely antedating and clearly marked off, both in diction and contents, from the devotional Tamil literature commencing from the 8th-9th centuries A.D.

The earlier strata of Tamil literature have many references to burials and *post-mortem* ceremonies, which I have described in some detail in a number of Ancient India.[4] The *Puṟanāṉūṟu, Naṟṟiṇai, Padiṟṟupattu* etc., contain many references to the necropolis, and burials. The burial grounds are generally called *kāḍu,* or *puṟaṅgāḍu,* or *mudukāḍu.* The term *mudukāḍu* even in later works, such as *Dēvāram* (7731) and *Nalvaḻi,* means a burial ground and a Pudukkottai inscription refers to the ancestors of the signatories as *mudukkaḷ* (P.S.I. 317). It is only later that we find the two differentiating terms *iḍukāḍu* (burial grounds) and *śuḍukāḍu* (cremation ground). In a few places the term *īmam* or *īmakkāḍu* is also used where *īmam* refers to funeral rituals in general with the suggestion of the concept of *Yama* or the lord of death. Later commentators of the Tamil works invariably explain all these terms as the burning ground, evidently unaware of the ancient custom of the disposal of the dead and influenced by contemporary or more recent practices, whereas many of the contexts would clearly show that *iḍukāḍu* alone was meant. In its many contexts the *Puṟam* gives actual word pictures of the graveyard and to one who has seen many of the megalithic fields in the South, the descriptions would strike as surprisingly accurate. References more numerous in the Sangam works are to the receptacle of dead remains called *tāḻi* which is

4. K. R. Srinivasan, *Megalithic Burials and Urn fields in South India in the light of Tamil Literature and Tradition*, Ancient India No. 2, (1946).

generally assumed to connote an urn. But the term *tāḻi* can mean anything that is buried as can be derived from the word *tāḻ* (*tāḻttap-paḍuvatu tāḻi*) and in that sense may perhaps include the terra-cotta sarcophagi also. The equation of the term *tāḻi* with a pyri-form urn or jar, in later commentaries, may perhaps be due to the fact that such urn burials are more ubiquitous than other forms and any vessel or jar of that shape came to be called *tāḻi, eg. veṇṇaittāḻi,* though not funerary. Royal burials as well as those of heroes and common men and women in *tāḻis* are referred to, showing its universal application to all strata of society. The *Maṇimēkalai,*[5] classed as post-*Sangam* in character, in the context of the description of the necropolis adjoining the Cōḷa capital of Puhār (Ch. 6) enumerates all the contemporary practices of dis-posal of the dead *viz.*, cremation (*śuḍuvōr*), exposure and burial (*iḍuvōr*), pit burials (*toḍu-kuḻi-p-paḍuppōr*), burial in under-ground cists or cellars (*tāḻ-vayiṉ-aḍaippōr*) and burial inside receptacles (*tāḻiyir-kavippōr*). The same sense is more or less echoed in the *Puṟam* verse (239) of Pēreyiṉ Muruvalār in praise of Nambi Neduñjeḻiyaṉ *viz.*,

Iḍuka-veṉṟō—suḍukaveṉṟō
Paḍukuḻi-p-paḍuka .... etc.

The association of pit-burials with well defined cists as reveal-ed in the Brahmagiri megalithic complex, megalithic urn burials with cist burials in the same site as in the Pudukkottai area, and the association of sarcophagi with cists in the Chingleput area are noteworthy in this context.

As I have already shown in my former paper referred to, mediaeval Tamil literature, as exemplified by the *Takkayāgappa-raṇi,* the three *Ulās* namely, *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉ Ulā, Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ Ulā* and the *Śaṅkaracōḻaṉ Ulā, the Tiruveṇkāṭṭupurāṇam* and Naccinārkiṉiyār's commentary of the *Tol-kāppiyam,* only shows that these ancient practices were no more than mere memories or traditions much altered in significance by the efflux of time. Oṭṭak-kūttar's association of dead bodies inside the *tāḻi* and of the persons performing "useless penance" in the secluded resorts of natural caverns (*pāḻi*), Naccinārkiṉiyār's attribution to the Ājīvakas of the practice of entering the *tāḻi* for penance until death and the

5. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature,* (Madras, 1956), p. 81.

Ulās' attribution to the distant and imaginary ancestors of the Cōḷa kings the discovery of the *mudumakkaṭ-cāḍi* for the old and decrepit, all clearly point to this conclusion.

The statement in the three *Ulās* referred to would also account for the later time stories that very old people who had lived their four score and twenty and were decrepit were placed inside large urns, till death, to avoid discomfort.

It will be reasonable to search for local names for the monuments which have existed amidst the people of India for centuries, though their significance has been gradually forgotten, and the names too might have undergone corrupt modifications.

Taking the rock cut temples of Malabar one wonders what they would have been called by the local people. Place names such as Taḷi-paramba and Paramban-taḷi, where such monuments are found, are suggestive. In the inscriptions of the early period ranging from the 7th century A.D. when the Pallavas and their contemporary Pāṇḍyas excavated cave temples and constructed structural shrines, as did the early Cōḷas, the term *taḷi* is often used to denote the shrine or sanctum, either excavated into rock or built up (e.g., *kaṟṟaḷi=kal-taḷi*=stone-shrine). Religious edifices forming divine abodes of earlier times, which must have been brick-built, were not called so, and the natural caverns, which appear to have been the earliest religious resorts extant, were called *pāḷi* and not *taḷi*. An early inscription of the 9th century A.D. from Pudukkottai (P.S.I. 18) gives the clue. It refers to the excavation of a rock-cut Śiva shrine of the Pallava type; and the chief who did it says that "having excavated the Tiruvālattūr hill in the form of a *taḷi* he installed the god in it". The expression "in the form of *taḷi*" is significant. It evidently denotes that a structure or cell was fashioned in the form of a pre-existing type that went by the name of *taḷi*. If it refers to such excavations, the rock-cut tombs of Malabar, which happen to be the only such pre-existing excavations, would answer to this description; and in two such cases the low hills are named after *taḷis*. Or if it refers to cells or spaces enclosed by construction on all sides, even as the Cōḷa time shrines are called *kaṟṟaḷi,* the earlier prototype of such enclosed *taḷi* will be the dolmen. As if lending support to the idea we have the verse by Perum Kauśikaṉar of Perum Kuṉṟūr in Iraṇiyamuṭṭam in *Malaipaḍukaḍām* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collection. The context is the return of a recipient of gifts and favours from the chief and the hero of the poem,

Nan̲nan̲, son of Nan̲nan̲ Śeṅgan̲-māl and his directing of another indigent minstrel to the same chief and description of the route and things that lie on the way to the chief's country (lines 384-398). Nan̲nan̲ is described as the chief of Konkaṇam of the seven hills in Nar̲r̲iṇai (391—11.6 and 7). The way is said to be replete with *kāḍu* and forked pathways, full of *kar̲r̲aḷi* and stones planted in memory of warriors who died a heroic death (நாலுடை மறவர் செல்லா நல்லிசைப் பெயரொடு நட்ட கல்லேசு கவலை —nāluḍai mar̲avar śellā nalliśaip-peyaroḍu naṭṭa kallēśu kavalai) and these stones planted in the names of the heroes, had divine powers and were to be propitiated.

How these *Naḍukal* monuments were propitiated by the Mar̲avar with decorations and offerings is mentioned in an *Aham* verse (35).

வில்லோர் வாழ்க்கை விழுத்தொடை மறவர்
வல்லான் பதுக்கைக் கடவுட் பேண் மார்
நடுகற் பீலிசூட்டித் துடிபடுத்துத்
தோப்பிக்கள்ளொடு துரூஉப்பலி கொடுக்கும்.

villōr vāḻkkai viḻuttoḍai mar̲avar
vallān̲ padukkai kaḍavuṭ pēṇmār
naḍukar̲ pīliśūṭṭit tuḍipaḍuttat
tōppikkaḻḻoḍu turūppali koḍukkum.

Again *Paṭṭinappālai* refers to a similar ritual of worshipping megaliths.

கிடுகு நிரைத் தெஃகூன்றி
நடுகல்லினரன் போல

kiḍugu nirait teḥkūn̲r̲i
naḍukallin̲aran̲ pōla. (Pat. 78-79).

Another *Aham* verse tells us how liquor flowed freely in Nan̲nan̲'s country.

நறவு மகிழிருக்கை நன்னன் வெண்மான்

nar̲avumagiḻirukkai nan̲n̲an̲ veṇmān̲ (97).

While we are speaking of Nan̲nan̲, it is better to mention another traditional name associated with him. This is the local term *Nan̲n̲aṅgāḍi* applied to megalithic burials in Malabar.[6] The buried urns (*kuḍakkals, tōpikals* included as they are found to

6. Dr. A. Aiyappan, Q. Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore, XXIII (1933). pp. 299-314.

cover such urns) are supposed to inurn aged people, while alive, when they were reduced by sheer senility to a frog-like shape and hopped about, and the eldest son would put the frog-like father in an urn with sufficient food to sustain the aged parent and bury it with rituals. From this association, one would naturally be inclined to suspect that the term *aṅṅāḍi* referred to such groups of megalithic monuments and in this connection one can remember also the association of the name of another Sangam Chief Paḻaiyaṉ with a place name Paḻayaṅṅaḍi. Such place-names ending in *aṅgāḍi* are numerous on the western coast, in the Malabar and Kaṇṇaḍa areas, such as Puthanaṅgāḍi, Belthaṅgāḍi, Hiriyaṅgāḍi, Uppinagāḍi etc. Here we must also recall the popular name of Moriyaraṅgāḍi in the Hyderabad territory with its variants, 'Mōriyar Mane', 'Mōrimattinakhani', in the Bijapur district.[7] The port-holed cists of Bellary and Anantapur[8] are described by the local people as the habitation of a people called Mōri-vāṇḍlu supposed to be pygmies, who were once overtaken by a rain of fire and driven into their houses, where they all perished. The place name suffix *aṅgāḍi* seems to have extended even to the Tamil country, where on the outskirts of Madurai, we have an extensive megalithic urn-field called Anupaṅgāḍi, corrupted into Anupannāḍi. (c.f. other place-names near Madurai—Mēl-aṅgāḍi, Kīḻaṅgāḍi). Evidently the prefix in these compounds refer to the names of chieftains even as Naṉṉaṉ and Paḻaiyaṉ do or tribes, eg. Mōri or Moriyar. If *aṅgāḍi* really meant, in its original form, a shop or row of shops as it does to-day, it is difficult to comprehend such combinations of terms and their association with megalithic sites. We have to pause here only to refer to the attempts to identify the Mōriyar, associated with Kōśar and Vaḍugar mentioned in the Sangam verses, with the Mauryas. Mauryas were of the north, while the Kōśar and Vaḍugar were local tribes. The Mauryas, we know, could not have been the authors of such megaliths as they have none in their own home country.

Another common association is the term *Pāṇḍu*, explained often as referring to Pāṇḍavas, and even transformed so, in the local names of such monuments in most districts of South India. For instance, the megalithic monuments of the cist type in Coorg (see Gazetteer) are called Pāṇḍu-parē meaning *Pāṇḍu-house*,

7. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series No.* 12, the Kaṇṇaḍa inscriptions of Kopbal.

8. District Gazeteers.

(*parē*, meaning a habitation or house, as in the Malayalam names, *ūṭṭupparē*, or feeding house, or *ōla-p-parē* or thatched house, *ōṭṭu-p-parā*—tiled house, *machu-p-parā*—terraced house). Elsewhere they are called *Pāṇḍu-k-kuḻi*. Curiously enough, the megalithic remains or cists are called Pāṇdhoesa by the people of east Java. It will be interesting to know what meaning it connotes. Such monuments are described from Pakoeman village in the Bondowoso province. They are capstone-flush-with-ground cists, the walls of which are made of many slabs on each side or of single slabs, some with an entrance and passage leading in. Menhirs are often called *Pāṇḍukkal, Pāṇḍil*. [Cf. பொலம் பசும் பாண்டிற்காசு, (ஐங்குறு நூறு, 310) —polam paśum pāṇḍiṟkāśu] means a circle or the felly of the wheel of a chariot. Has this anything to do with the names?

The *megaliths*, particularly the cists and dolmenoid cists in the Pudukkottai and adjoining parts of Ramanathapuram district are called locally *kuraṅguppaṭṭaḍai* and fancifully explained as the workshops of the monkey hordes that followed Rāma to Laṅkā, the provenance of the iron implements lending colour to such a belief, and the term *paṭṭaḍai* or *paṭṭaṟai* denoting in modern parlance, a workshop or anvil, or forge. Luckily a Pāṇḍya inscription of the 13th century from Nārttāmalai in Pudukkottai[9] relating to the endowments, to the temple, of lands in Tāyinipaṭṭi village on the other side of the same hill, describes an area as strewn with large stones and *kurakkupaḍai*. From this it will be clear that the modern name *kuraṅgupaṭṭaḍai* is a corruption of the old name *kurakkup-paḍai* which really means a buried structure (*kurakku*—to lower or bury; and *paḍai* will denote the same as the suffix of the better understood term *paḻḻi-p-paḍai* of the early Cōḻa inscriptions which are shrines built over royal graves). *Paḍai* may thus be equated with 'monument' or monumental structure. It will be interesting to pursue this theme a little more and try to find out what relation *kurakkuppaḍai* can possibly bear to other local names—e.g. *kuḻḻa-nari-vīḍu*, the name given to dolmenoid cist in the Chingleput district. We have seen how *kurakku* has been equated with or corrupted into *kuraṅgu* of *kuraṅguppaṭṭaḍai*. Similarly *kurakku* can be corrupted into *kurakkan* which as in Malayalam means the jackal, or *kuḻḻanari*. I am told that there is a Malayalam proverb which states that a habit acquired at birth will die only at death when the person goes to the *kurakkuppaḍai*. Further north in the

9. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 325.

Telugu areas the name *nakka-dibba* denote the same (*nakka*= jackal) indicating a possible translation. In this context may be mentioned some intersting place-names. *Kurakkuttaḷi* is the name of a place in Coimbatore district, as will be seen from the name Kurakkutaḷi-āḷuḍaya-nāyaṉār, the god of Sugrīveśvara in Sirkār-Periya-Pāḷayam, an area from which megaliths have been reported.[10] The god in the well-known Cōḷa temple of modern Śrī-nivāsanallūr is referred to as Kurakkutturaipperumāṉaḍigaḷ. There is another Kurakkuttuṟai in Tirunelveli, and Kuraṅgāḍuturai or Kurakkāḍuturai in Tanjore. Kurakkeṇikkollam is the name of Kollam or Quilon in Kerala and Kuraṅgaṇimuṭṭam (fancifully derived as *Kuraṅgu, aṇil,* and *muṭṭam*) of North Arcot district was perhaps Kurakkeṇimuṭṭam. The term *muṭṭam* again possibly refers to funerary mounds and we can remember here such names as Tirumuṭṭam sanskritised into Śri-Mushṇam with the famous Ādivarāha shrine. This was probably derived from the fact that this place was called Paṉṟiyūr-muṭṭam i.e., *muṭṭam* of Paṉṟiyūr-nāḍu or Paṉṟi-nāḍu. Tiruttiyūrmuṭṭam, Iraṇiyamuṭṭam etc. perhaps belong to this category.

The stone circles are referred to as *kaṟkiḍai* (*kal*=stone, *kiḍai*=enclosure; cf. *āṭṭukkiḍai* or *kiḍai-pōḍutal* meaning pen or penning sheep in a fold) in a Tanjore inscription which mentions them along with the burning grounds of the Veḷḷāḷar and Paṟaiyar. In the South Arcot district the stone-circles are called *Kuṟumbar-kōṭṭai* or *Kuṟumbaṉ-kōṭṭai.* The stone-circles with cairns in Tiruvakkarai and Seṅgamēḍu on the Pondicherry border are even today called so. Kōṭṭai, in this context, perhaps means 'ring'. (We call the ring round the moon in a clear sky *kōṭṭai*).

The megaliths form the most characteristic and earliest monuments of South India, south of the Vindhyas, as they exist in large numbers in almost every district, though varying in type. The most dominant type is the large cist built above or below ground and usually surrounded by a stone circle, the other common types being the small cists, circles (with or without buried cists) menhirs and alignments. The cists frequently in large groups occur mainly on the granite and laterite of the Peninsula, though sporadically found on the lime stone and sand stone of the north-west.

10. *A.R.E.* 304, 305, 306, 308, 313, 315 of 1908.

The monuments of the South thus denote a highly advanced stage of culture among the people who built them, resulting from the knowledge and use of iron. That they formed well settled agricultural communities with a knowledge of irrigation will be evident from the fact of the location of the monuments in the water spreads of, or, in association with, large irrigation tanks, created by bunding up of a sloping ground to hold up the water and cultivating on the other side; the crops cultivated being irrigated ones, such as paddy. The magnitude of the stones involved in the megaliths and the colossal labour that would be required in their construction and the profusion in which they occur over a site will all denote that the erection of the monuments involved a sort of community labour and the population therefore was quite dense and well-knit.

The chronology of these megaliths as indicated before would show that the people existed in the Peninsula, in the first millennium B.C. and that they were being erected in the first two or three centuries after Christ or even a little later. The evidences afforded by recent excavations may be summed up here. The megalithic culture was preceded by a stone axe, non-iron using culture, which in the Brahmagiri area continued as a dwindling sub-culture through most of the succeeding megalithic phase. The megalithic culture was intrusive and first introduced iron-working to the locality. The absence of stone walls and occasional post-holes in the megalithic strata indicate timber construction for their domestic buildings while their funerary monuments were more elaborate. The megalithic phase was overlapped by the "Andhra" culture by about the middle of the first century A.D.

This area being more or less the central point of the Peninsula we may extend the same sequence and chronology (with due latitude for its commencement and spread) to the peripheral regions also. The find of dated coins, and the correlation with associated Arikamedu pottery in the more southern parts almost agree with this. Further north, the association of cists in the excavations of the Andhra Buddhist sites in Hyderabad and Koṇḍāpūr would point to the same conclusion.

Almost coeval with this we find pictured in the extant early Tamil works, a people and society with an advanced culture; and references to such monuments and practices in the body of literature itself as we have shown are not wanting.

The problem that a noted Anthropologist like Führer von Haimendorf[11] poses in such a context is interesting and may be briefly outlined here. He has attempted to amplify the ethnological indications of the culture sequence revealed by the recent excavations at Brahmagiri and other places. The lowest implementiferous strata dating from neolithic times with the characteristic stone axe of the pointed butt type, the distribution of which widely over the Deccan has been known, though not under such documented strata, and associated crude hand made pottery would all denote, according to him, a primitive population of shifting cultivators, whose level of economy and material culture was comparable to that of certain Indian tribes practising slash-and-burn cultivation such as the Baigas and Kamars of Madhya Pradesh, the Hill Reddis and Kolams of Hyderabad and the Ūrāḷis of Malabar.

The succeeding megalithic culture denoting an advanced material civilization did not, as the excavations have shown, grow out of the earlier neolithic but had it roots elsewhere, and as far as could be judged not in the peninsular India; and this new iron using megalithic civilisation did not make its appearance in South India before the middle of the first millennium B.C. and that it should have spread over large parts of South India with amazing speed and characteristic force of a vastly superior civilisation. Though there is no direct evidence as to what language the megalithic people spoke, Haimendorf thinks that the circumstantial evidence would seem to point to the conclusion that it must have been Dravidian.[11] The possibilities considered by him are two—either the earlier stone-age people, who were shifting cultivators with very primitive material equipment, or the intruding megalithic builders, with their developed iron-industry, must have brought the Dravidian languages and imposed them ultimately on the South. He thinks it highly improbable that the speech of the more primitive neolithic population, whose culture was superseded by a more advanced population, could have persisted, while that of the populous and dynamic megalith builders disappeared without leaving any trace. In other words, he asks—if the megalith builders did *not* speak Dravidian languages what languages did they speak? And the interval between the period of their expansion over the Penin-

11. *Vide* his address to the Fourth session of the International Congress of Anthropology, Vienna, 1952; and earlier in the Anthropology and Archaeology section of the Indian Science Congress, Poona, 1950. Summary published in *Indo-Asian Culture*, II, No. 3 (Jan. 1954), pp. 238 ff.

sula, and the early historic times is so brief that the complete disappearance of the language of so large and advanced a population is beyond the realms of possibility. On the other hand there is a striking coincidence between the distribution of megalithic tombs and the Dravidian languages favouring a correlation of the Iron Age megalith builders with the Dravidian speakers. It is easier to explain the loss of the language of the primitive population when one sees how even to-day one primitive dialect after another disappears as a result of contacts with advanced populations of different languages. According to his hypothesis, both the iron using megalithic culture and the Dravidian languages, as thus correlated, were intrusions into South India. He agrees with Col. D. H. Gordon in excluding, on the basis of archaeological evidence, the theory of a gradual spread of an iron using culture from North through Middle India to the South. For in most part of North India iron occurs later than in the South and any people coming from the North, where copper and bronze were in use would also have brought some copper and bronze implements and not exclusively iron. The existence of a broad belt in Central India that was and still is inhabited by primitive peoples, according to him, has formed an effective barrier and excluded the possibility of a great north-south movement of the Dravidian speakers. The only possibility he sees as probable will be either an immigration by sea or a southward movement along the west coast of India, and the similarity of the megalithic tombs of South India and those of the Mediterranean extending even to the characteristic port-hole would suggest western connections. The existence of Brahui of Dravidian affinities in Buluchistan, and the megaliths of Karachi, he says may be explained by either a migration by land or along the coast, for in the course of their migration the megalith builders may well have founded colonies at suitable sites and after the movement of the main body to the south most of such colonies would ultimately have been absorbed by the surrounding Aryan speaking populations. According to him, the date of 200 B.C. ascribed to the final phase of neolithic culture at Brahmagiri is rather a little late, for it is doubtful whether the Asokan inscription in the vicinity would have been put amidst primitive folk leading a neolithic style of life. He would take as certain however that the new megalithic civilization did not make its appearance in the Peninsula much before the middle of the first millennium B.C.

The close integration of the Dravidian language groups would, according to him, lend support to the assumption of a comparatively recent Dravidian expansion. If the Dravidians of today were

the remnants of ancient Dravidian populations which once occupied the whole of India and in the course of a process of attrition were gradually pushed southwards by the victorious Aryans one would expect their languages to comprise a large number of splinter groups and to show secondary amalgamations of fragments thrown together in the general southward retreat. But nothing of the kind is to be seen; all the Dravidian languages are closely akin, and appear rather as branches of a group still in a state of organic growth than the remnants of an once larger complex.

Protagonists of the great antiquity of Dravidian speech and culture on Indian soil basing their argument on what they consider the internal evidence in ancient Tamil literature, he says, are only trying to counter the evidence of archaeological stratigraphy with literary data preserved only in late transcriptions and commentaries. A date of 500 B.C. as he assumes, for the immigration of Dravidian speakers would allow sufficient time for the development of such a literature as Tamil and make possible the literary efflorescence of the Sangam work in the second or even the first century A.D. He adumbrates all these as a working hypothesis, which is to be pursued in all earnestness by archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists.

I have drawn attention to the variety and types of these oldest monuments of South India, references to such in the extant old literature of South India, the names by which such monuments go and some of the traditional beliefs of the local people. Archaeological investigations recently have shown that the period of the oldest monuments and the mass of extant literature to be more or less contemporary or just overlapping. The monuments are fast disappearing owing to many factors, *viz.*, extension of villages and cultivation, irrigation and other projects, establishment of factories and the development of roads and railways, to the last of which, particularly, these ancient collections of megalith builders yield ready made quarry material. We are trying to save only a few by protection. Though the Sangam literature affords us much information in word pictures about the civilization and culture of the people we are yet to handle the material objects of that civilization in any quantity. It is tempting therefore to pursue the correlations suggested by the date established so far and let us hope that further excavations of megaliths,, discovery of the habitation sites of the megalith builders and a more intensive and impartial study of the extant Tamil literature would ultimately solve our problems.

KUḶIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDĪŚVARA-VARMAN—A STUDY*

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A Tamil inscription incised on a hero stone set up near the River Pālār at Kuḷidikki in the Gudiyattam taluk of the North Arcot district is very important for a study of the history of South India towards the end of the eighth century A.D. It has been edited by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar in the *Epigraphia Indica.*[1] The record is dated in the fifty-second regnal year of Vijaya Nandīśvara varman. From the high regnal year quoted in the inscription and its find spot the king has been identified with the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. According to the Editor, the inscription records the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar, the chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr, who at the instance of his uncle (*māmaḍi*), the Bāṇa chief, fought on the occasion of the Pallava invasion against Perumāṉaḍigaḷ (i.e. the Western Gaṅga king) when the fortress of Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai was destroyed. And from a study of this interesting record Venkatasubba Aiyar has drawn certain inferences regarding the relations between the Pallavas, the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas during the period. But as will be explained in the sequal they do not seem to be supported by the other available pieces of evidence. The text and translation of the inscription as given by him are as follows:

1. ஸ்ரீ[‖] கொவிசெய நந்தி	1. Śrī [‖] Kō-Viśeya-Nandī
2. ச்சுர பருமற்கு யாண்டு	2. chchuraparumaṟku yāṇḍu
3. அம்பத்தி ரண்டாவது	3. ambattiraṇḍāvadu
4. பெருமானடிகள்	4. Perumāṉaḍigaḷ mēl—
5. பல்லவரையன் படை வந்	5. Pallavaraiyan paḍai van
6. து வெண்குழிக்கோட்டை அ	6. du Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai a—
7. ழித்த ஞான்று வாணரை	7. ḻitta ñāṉṟu Vāṇarai—
8. யர் மாமடி திரிக எனத்	8. yar māmaḍi tiriga eṉat—
9. திரிந்து பட்டார் கற்காட்	9. tirindu paṭṭār Kaṟkāṭ—
10. டூருடைய கங்கதியரை	10. ṭūr - uḍaiya Gaṅgadiyarai—
11. யர் கன்னாடு பெருங்க	11. yar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅga—
12. ங்கர் [‖]	12. ṅgar [‖]

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1. Vol. XXII, pp. 110-113.

Translation :

Prosperity! In the fifty-second year of (*the reign of*) king Viśeya-Nandīchchuraparumar Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar, (*the chief*) of Kaṟkāṭṭūr died (*when*) Vāṇaraiyar, (*his*) uncle (*directed him*) to proceed on the day (*when*) the Pallava (?) army marched against Perumāṉaḍigaḷ and destroyed (*the fortress of*) Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai.

The name of the chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr who died while resisting the attack of the army and for whom the hero stone was set up has been taken as Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar. Really the expression *Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar* which has been taken as forming part of the name of the chief is a separate sentence and occurs at the end (final) after Chief Gaṅgadiyaraiyar. *Kaṉṉāḍu* means the setting up of the stone, being made up of the two words *kal*=stone and *nāḍu* the verbal nown derived from the root *naḍu* to plant meaning setting up or planting. Thus the term really means 'the setting up of the stone'. It has a variant in the word *kalnāḍu*. In both these forms the word is found in a number of Kannaḍa records of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ.

From the above instance it will be clearly seen that the expression *Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar* means that the stone was set up by Peruṅgaṅgar i.e. the great Gaṅga, obviously the Western Gaṅga king of the time. Curiously enough Venkatasubba Aiyar remarks: "From the fact that the Gaṅga Chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr is called Kalnāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on the battle-field".[2] This is an inference which is not well based. We are yet to know of any another instance of the word forming part of a personal name like this.

The word *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* has been taken as used to indicate the Western Gaṅga king on the strength of the Humcha stone record[3] which states that Śrīpuruṣa slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñcī and appropriated to himself from the Pallavas the title *Perumāṉaḍi*. It is also said that since that time onwards the title was exclusively used to denote the Western Gaṅga kings, its use after the time of Śrīpuruṣa invariably denoted the Gaṅga kings

2. *Ibid*., p. 113.
3. *Ep. Car*., Vol. VIII, Nagar, 35.
4. *E.I.*, XXII, p. 112 and *n*. 3,

only.[4] The term *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* is an honorific title in Tamil applied to the Divine Being, especially to Śiva both in literature and epigraphy. In the *Tirukkaḍavūr Mayānam* of the *Dēvāram* Sambanda addresses Śiva as *Periya viḍai mēl varuvār avar em perumāṉaḍigaḷē.*[5] An inscription in the Bilvanāthēśvara temple at Tiruvaḷḷam in the North Arcot district mentions the God in the temple as *Vallattu -t-tiruttikkāli-p-perumāṉaḍigaḷ.*[6] In inscriptions this term is used to denote kings also, though sometimes Viṣṇu also was indicated by this term, as for instance, in the name Narasimha Perumāṉaḍigaḷ given to the deity in the rock-cut temple at Āṉamalai in an inscription of the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I found at the place.[7] An undated inscription of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar from Uḷalūr near Chingleput refers to the king by the term Perumāṉaḍigaḷ. (*Perumāṉaḍi-gaḷukku viṉṉappañceytu*).[8] Similarly in the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates, dated in the sixty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while referring to a previous grant made by the king in his fifty-eighth regnal year, the king is referred to by the same term (*Perumāṉaḍigalum piramadēyamāga aruḷi-c-ceyda*).[9] The Cōḷa kings also were referred to in their inscriptions as Cōḷa-p-perumāṉaḍigaḷ. For instance, an inscription of the eighth year of the Rājakēsari from Tillaisthānam in the Tanjore district mentions a *Cōḷa-p-perumāṉaḍigaḷ maganār Ādittaṉ Kaṉṉaradēvan.*[10] Evidently the term denoted 'His Majesty' with reference to kings. The Humcha stone record stating that the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa snatched this title from the Pallava is a very late one, nearly three centuries later than the date of that ruler, and contains many wrong statements. While many other statements made in it are not accepted as correct for want of confirmatory evidence in support of them, the statement regarding the appropriation of this title by him has, however, been accepted, though there is not much evidence to support it. On the other hand, the use of this title by Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates referred to above and dated nine years later than the Kuḷidikki record shows definitely that he was still using the same title.

5. *Ll.*—80-1. See also commentary on the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* v. 323.
6. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. III, No. 44.
7. *Ibid.,* No. 109, p. 240, *l.*18.
8. No. 17 of 1899; *S.I.I.,* Vol. VI, No. 453.
9. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XVIII, p. 121, *ll.*27-28.
10. *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 595.

Even otherwise the equation of the term *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* in the record with the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa would seem rather strange. According to the inscription as interpreted by the Editor, Gaṅgadiyaraiyar, the hero of the stone, was an adversary of the Pallava king. The Editor says: "The question why the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary, the Pallava king Nandivarman, is easily answered. After the siege, the village Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai belonged to Nandivarman and the inscription of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of the overlord."[11] But before accepting the view it deserves to be considered if it would not be humiliating to the Pallava king to denote in his inscription, his principal adversary the Western Gaṅga monarch by the title *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* which originally belonged to himself and is said to have been snatched away by the Gaṅga ruler meanwhile. Certanly it is very difficult to believe that the Pallava king would have done so especially when recording a victory by him over the Gaṅga and had not discontinued the use of the title for himself as is evidenced by the Paṭṭattāḷmangalam plates dated nine years later.

Further the wording of the record would rather indicate that it is the Pallava king in whose time the record has been dated that is intended to be referred to by the title *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ*. The Editor himself does not appear to be unaware of this. This may be inferred from what he writes in a foot-note: "In the present record the word is dubiously used. It might be interpreted as referring to Nandivarman himself, in which case "Pallavaraiyaṉ" (l. 5) would be some local chieftain who revolted against his overlord, when both Vāṇaraiyar and Gaṅgadiyaraiyar rushed to the rescue of the Pallava sovereign. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Gudiyattam taluk where this inscription is found to the Ganga territory and the political conditions of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to Śrīpuruṣha".[12]

A record of Hemmige[13] in the T. Narasipur taluk of the Mysore district registers a grant made during the period when Konguni Mārājar (who has been identified with Śrīpuruṣa) was ruling the

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 113.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
13. *Ep. Car.*, XIV, Tn. 234; also *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1912, p. 36.

world (*pṛithvirājyam keya*) and Perumāṉaḍigaḷ was ruling the Pemoge (i.e. Pemmoge or Hemmige). This would show that Perumāṉaḍigaḷ was different from Śrīpuruṣa and that he was his subordinate. Another fragmentary record[14] found in the Pāṭalēś-vara temple at Talakāḍ in the same taluk inscribed in old Kannaḍa characters makes one think that *Permmāṉaḍi* was the name or title of Noḷambādhirāja. Since the Noḷambas claimed Pallava descent it is possible they were also entitled to use the title *Permmāṉaḍigal*.[15] From the above pieces of evidence it becomes clear that the word *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* found in the record under study can refer only to the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla in whose reign the hero stone was set up.

If the above is accepted the Pallavaraiyan whose army attacked the fort of Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai cannot be the Pallava king Nandivarman, as surmised by Venkatasubba Aiyar. It is rather unusual to refer to the reigning monarch as such in his own inscription. In support of his identification the Editor cites two examples. One is *Īḻattaraiyaṉ* referring to the king of Ceylon, and the other is a late inscription of the Kāḍava chieftain Kōpperuñjiṅga. But they are not of any help to us. The term *Īḻattaraiyaṉ* occurs in an inscription dated in the twelfth regnal year of the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I from Tiruppārkaḍal in the North Arcot district while referring to the battle between Parāntaka I on one side and the Pāṇḍya with the king of Ceylon on the other side which took place at Vēḷūr (*Pāṇḍiyaṉum Īḻattaraiyaṉum Perumāṉaḍigaḷōḍu Vēḷūr astikkaḍai ceyda māṉṟu?*)[16] Here the reference is to a king who was defeated in battle. The second record which has been edited by Venkatasubba Aiyar himself comes from Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district. The printed text of the inscription has the word *Vallavaraiyaṉ* and not *Pallavaraiyaṉ*. It registers the gift of some land for the maintenance of a *maṭha* by a certain Uḍaiyār Aṇiyaṉ Mūvēndaraiyaṉ. At the end of the inscription the following imprecation is recorded. *Idu māṟuvāṉ Keṅgai iḍai Kumari paśu koṉṟāṉ pāvaṅ koḷvāṉ. Vallavaraiyaṉ śattiyam*: Any-

14. *Ep. Car.*, XIV, Tn 202.

15. It may, however, be noted here that some later members of the Gaṅga family are known to have borne the title along with their official names like *satyavākya permmāṉaḍi*. This title corrupted as *Permaḍi* or even as *paramaḍi* was also borne by some later rulers of the Kannaḍa country like Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa.

16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 99, p. 232.

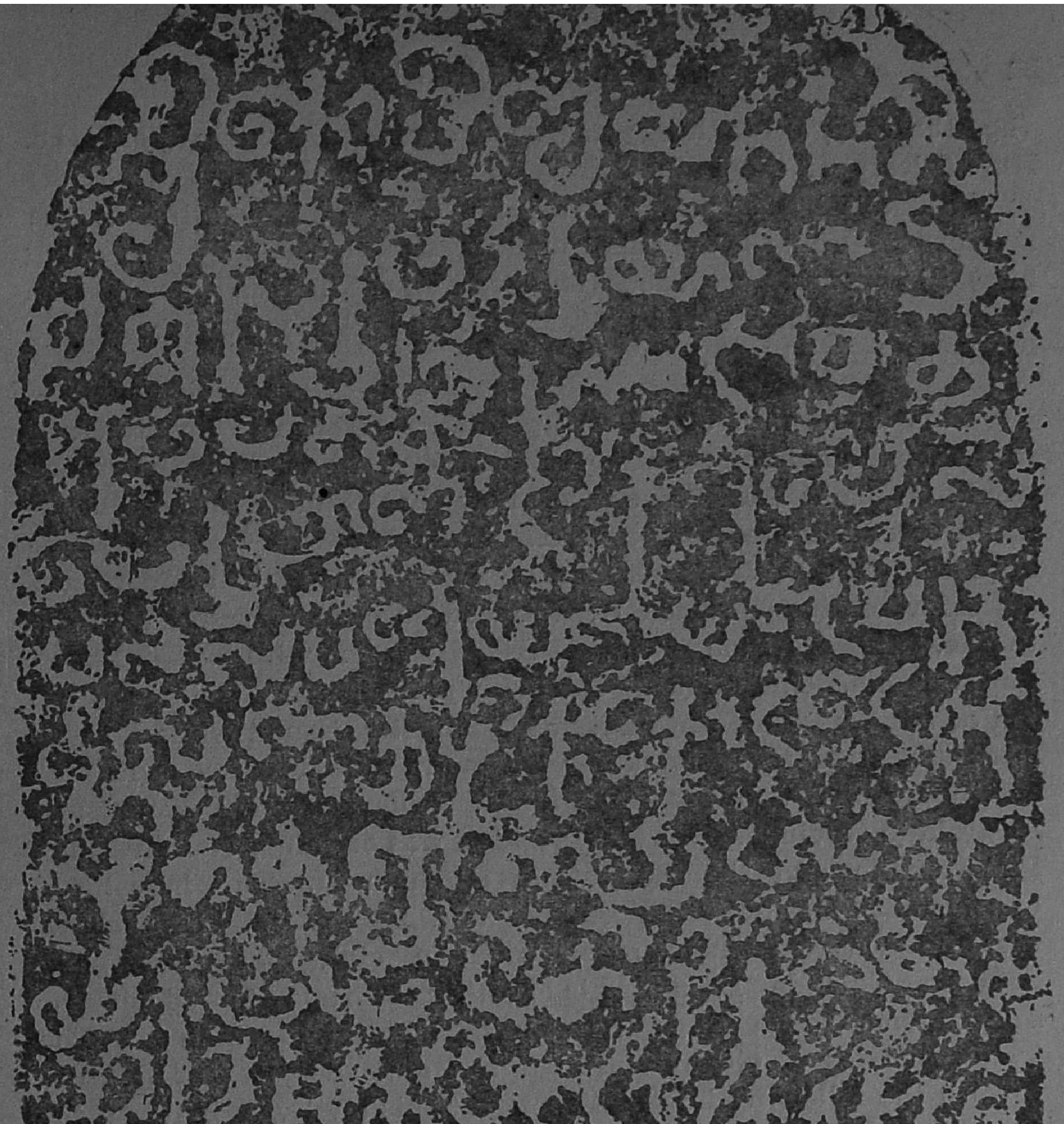
one transgressing this will get the sin of one killing a tawny cow on the Gaṅgā and the Kumari. This is the oath or swearing of Vallavaraiyaṉ[17]. Thus neither of the two inscriptions is helpful to us for a study of the question under discussion:

Further the plate of the impression of the inscription given along with the article in the *Epigraphia Indica* reads only *Vallavaraiyaṉ* and not *Pallavaraiyaṉ* as given by the Editor. The first letter in the fifth line which has been read as *pa* is the same as the fourth which has been read as *va*. There is no difference between them and the other *vas* found in the record, as for instance, in the words *ambattiraṇḍāvadu* in the third line, *vandu* in the fifth line, *Vāṇaraiyar* in the seventh line etc. On the other hand the letter *pa* in the words *parumaṟku* in the second line, *ambattiraṇḍāvadu* in the third line, *Perumāṉaḍigaḷ* in the fourth line, *paḍai* in the fifth line, *paṭṭār* in the ninth line and *peruṅgaṅgar* in the eleventh line is quite different and looks very much like a crescent. Thus the word *Pallavaraiyaṉ* in the inscription has to be taken as *Vallavaraiyaṉ*. It is well known that this indicated at the time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Thus it must be taken that the inscription records the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army against the Pallava and the siege of the fort, in resisting which the Gaṅga chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr fell. This is quite in keeping with the history of the times as will be shown below. Perhaps we have to read the name of the place as Veṇkuḻikkōṭṭai as the first letter looks very much like *va* and not *pa* as shown above. With these two corrections the text and translation of the record may be as follows:

1. ஸ்ரீ[॥] கொவிசெய நந்தி	1. Śrī [॥] Kō-Viśeya-Nandī-
2. ச்சுர பருமற்கு யாண்டு	2. ccura Parumaṟku yāṇḍu
3. அம்பத்தி ரண்டாவது	3. ambattiraṇḍāvadu
4. பெருமானடிகள்	4. Perumāṉaḍigaḷ mēl
5. வல்லவரையன் படை வந்	5. Vallavaraiyaṉ paḍai van
6. து வெண்குழிக்கோட்டை அ	6. du Veṇkuḻikkōṭṭai a
7. ழித்த ஞான்று வாணரை	7. ḻitta ñāṉṟu Vāṇarai
8. யர் மாமடி திரிக எனத்	8. yar māmaḍi tiriga eṉat —
9. திரிந்து பட்டார் கற்காட்	9. tirindu paṭṭār Kaṟkāṭ —
10. டூருடைய கங்கதியரை	10. ṭūr-uḍaiya Gaṅgadiyarai—
11. யர் கன்னாடு பெருங்க	11. yar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅga —
12. ங்கர் [॥]	12. ṅgar [॥]

Prosperity. In the fifty-second year (of the reign) of king Nandīccura-parumar, on the day when the army of Vallavaraiyaṉ

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 141.



Lines 1 *to* 12

Sketch from plate in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXII.

(i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king) marched against Perumāṉaḍigaḷ (i.e. His Majesty or the Pallava king) and besieged (the fortress of) Veṇkuḻikkōṭṭai, Gaṅgadiyaraiyar, the chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr at the instance of Vāṇaraiyar (his) uncle (or father-in-law) (directing him) to proceed, proceeded (fought) and died. The (hero) stone (was) set up by Peruṅgaṅgar (i.e. the Great Gaṅgar or the Western Gaṅga king).

This is the first direct and pointed reference to an attack of the Pallava dominion by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. The date of the record would be about A.D. 785 as we know that Nandivarman Pallavamalla ascended the Pallava throne in A.D. 733-34.[18] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king at that time was Dhruva who had just then superseded his elder brother Govinda II, who had succeeded Kṛṣṇa I on the throne. This Govinda II was on friendly terms with Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Maṇṇe[19] and Alūr plates[20] of Mārasimha I, the son of the Western Gaṅga Śivamāra Saigotta, issued while he was *yuvarāja*, state that his father Śivamāra was invested with the crown by the two crowned kings, Pallava Nandivarman and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda. The Pallava king was certainly Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II. The investiture of Śivamāra by both the Pallava and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings shows that he was on their side. Then a civil war took place between Govinda II and his brother Dhruva in which the Pallava and Gaṅga kings were on the side of Govinda II. The Paithan plates of Govinda III the son and successor of Dhruva, furnish the following information about this civil war between the two Rāṣṭrakūṭa brothers in two stanzas.

"Although that brother (Govindaraja) of his had fetched in large numbers those hostile kings even, the ruler of Mālava and others, who were joined by the ruler of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga and him of Vēṅgī, his (i.e. Dhruvarāja's) mind underwent no change in regard to him, when afterwards he (Dhruvarāja) had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and his store of gold. When even after his (Dhruvarāja's) conciliatory overtures, Vallabha (Govinda-

18. See *J.I.H.*, XXXVI, p. 238.
19. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. IV, Nl. 60.
20. *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1924: "By the ornaments of the Pallava and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Crowned Kings namely Gōvindarāja and Nandivarma was his head wound round with a white piece of cloth (a symbol of coronation) with their own hand".

rāja) did not make peace, then (Dhruvarāja) speedily defeated him in a battle offered by the brother and he afterwards drove away the eastern and northern opponents, and obtained the whole sovereignty located with the insignia of the effulgent *pālidhvaja*".[21]

The above clearly shows that both the Gaṅga and Pallava kings were on the side of Govinda II in the civil war. It may even be conjectured that the Pallava king played a leading part in the civil war.

The fact that the Gaṅga and Pallava kings were on the side of Govinda II infuriated Dhruva; and so when he succeeded to the throne after ousting his brother, he took vengeance against them. Śivamāra had to pay heavily for his policy. He was captured by Dhruva, removed out of the Gaṅga territory and kept as a prisoner in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion.[22] The Maṇṇe grant says that Śivamāra was beset with difficulties on all sides. According to it he found himself placed in a world of endless calamities like the matted hair (top-knots) of Śiva.[23] According to the Gaṭṭiadpur plates, Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya on the throne, and he like Bharata, knowing the earth (the kingdom) to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her.[24] These show clearly that Dhruva took retaliatory steps against the Gaṅga king and carried him away as prisoner to his own dominions.

The Pallava king also suffered in an attack of his dominions by Dhruva. The Jethwai plates of Śīlamahādēvi, queen of

21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 107, *ll.*29-34.
29. Tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-Dhruvarāja-nāmā ma-
30. hānubhāvō = tpra (pra) hata pratāpaḥ | prasādhit-āśēpa (ṣa) -narendracakraḥ Krameṇa vā (bā) lārkka-vapur-vva (bba) bhūva || Śri Kāñcīpa-
31. ti-Gaṁga-Vēṁgika-yutā yē Mālavēśāḍa (ḍa) yaḥ prājy[ā]n = ānayati sma tān = kṣitibhṛtō sa (ya) ḥ prātirājyān = api | māṇiky -ā-.
32. bharaṇāci (ni) hēsa (ma) nicayam yasya p[r]apady=opari svam [yē?]na prati taṁ tath = āpi na kṛtaṁ cētō = nyathā bhrātaraṁ ||. Sām-ādyē (dyai)-
33. r = api Vallabhō na[hi] yadā sa[m]dhim vyadhāt = tam tadā [bhrá?] tur = dda [tta]raṇe vijitya ta[ra]sā paścāt = tatō bhūya[ta?]ḥ | prācy odīcya-[pa]
34. racyapāsya ca lasat pālidhvajair = [bhū] ṣitam cihnair = yyaḥ parameśvaratvam = akhilaṁ lebho (bhē) mahano vibhuḥ |.

22. *Ind.* Ant., XI, p. 157; *Ind. Ant.*, VI. p. 54.
23. *Ep. Car.*, *Vol.* IV, Nl. 60.
24. *Ibid.*, XII, Nj. 269.

Dhruva issued in Śaka 708 corresponding to A.D. 786, i.e., in the very next year of the Kuḷidikki record, has the following verse: "As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*durga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gaṅgas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges and accepting the lofty Bull (*Nandi*) as his badge and ashes (for his use) displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God).[25] The stanza is in *double entendre.* Two historical events are mentioned in this verse, and both of them relate to Dhruva. One is that he removed the hereditary ruler of the Western Gaṅga country from the throne. The other is that he gained a victory over the king who had the bull as the insignia.[26] This king can be no other than the Pallava ruler for it was the Pallavas that had the bull as the crest. Thus the Kuḷidikki inscription now confirms what is known from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, namely, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas attacked about that time the Pallava Nandivarman and perhaps gained a victory over him, and thus wreacked his vengeance on him for the help that he gave to Govinda II against himself.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 104.

Yosau prase (sā) dhitajagatra (tra) yasāradugo gaṅgau—
gha santati niroda vivṛddha nīttiḥ kīrttiḥ [|] ānmī—
kṛtonnata vṛṣāṅka vibhūtiruccervyakta
taṁtāna paramēśva[ra] tāmihaikaḥ — (verse-24.)

26. This verse also occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa (verse 25) edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 133-47. But the editor has missed the point.

RARE SCULPTURES AT KUMBHAKOṆAM *

By

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1. *General*

Kumbhakoṇam, the famous town in the Tanjore district of Madras State is also one of the important temple-cities of South India. It has a hoary past, and consequently a number of Hindu temples came to be built here during the different periods of South Indian history. It is known that some of the villages in the neighbourhood of this town contained settlements of the Buddhists[1] and the Jains.[2] So its importance in the history of the various religions in Tamilnāḍ is as great as that of Kāñchīpuram. Of the Hindu temples, twelve are Śaiva and four are Vaishṇava and amongst them the most important are the Kumbheśvara, Nāgeśvara, Kāśi Viśvanātha and Eḻai Someśvara temples of the Śaiva faith and the Śārṅgapāṇi, Chakrapāṇi and Rāmasvāmi temples of the Vaishṇava faith. That the place was well known in the 7th century A.D. is attested by the fact that the deities in some of the temples have been sung by a few of the Nāyanmārs or the Śaiva saints and the Āḻvārs or the Vaishṇava saints of Tamilnāḍ. For instance, the Śaiva saints, namely, Appar and Tirujñānasambandar have both sung in praise of the Lord Kumbheśvara, Appar alone has sung in praise of the Lord Nāgeśvara (*Kuḍandaikkīḻkkoṭṭam* in Tamil)[3] and Tirujñānasambandar alone has sung in praise of the

*Final part of the paper read at the meeting of the Society held on 22-3-1956.

1. In the *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvalañjuḻi, a village about 3 miles from Kumbhakoṇam is a large standing stone Buddha image, *vide* A. Aiyappan and P. R. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism with special reference to South India*, p. 94, Pl. XIX.

2. The Śiva temple at Tirunāgeśvaram, another village near Kumbhakoṇam, has a few Jain images built into it which once belonged to an ancient Jaina temple in the place.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* (revised edition 1955), p. 703.

Lord of Kāśi Viśvanātha (*Kuḍandaikkāroṇam* in Tamil);[4] and the Vaishṇava saints Periāḻvār, Tirumaḻiśaiāḻvār, Peyāḻvār, Bhūtattāḻvār, Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅgaiāḻvār have sung in praise of Lord Vishṇu of the Śārṅgapāṇi temple.[5]

A large number of inscriptions[6] are found in some of the temples and earliest of them date back to the beginning of the 10th century A.D.[7]

2. *Nāgeśvara temple and its sculptures*

Of all the temples at Kumbhakoṇam, Nāgeśvara is the most interesting and important from the points of view of tradition, architecture and sculpture, as well as dancing and music. This is considered to be the Kuḍandaikkīḻkkoṭṭam referred to by Appar in his *Devāram,* although the present central shrine, which is the earliest of the present temple complex, is said to date from before Parāntaka I's time. The other parts of the temple belong to subsequent periods. It is the central shrine which is a veritable repository of wonderful sculptural and architectural wealth. The other parts too are noteworthy for their richness and variety of their architecture and sculpture. Yet they are dwindled in importance before the exquisite beauty of the central shrine. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has dealt with this shrine succinctly in his revised edition of *The Cōḻas.*

Architecture: As regards architecture of the shrine, the learned Professor has said that it belongs to the group of perfect examples of early Choḷa temples such as the Sundareśvara temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, although here, except for a loose Jyēshṭhā figure, the Gaṇeśa shrine and the Sūrya shrine, the other items of the original temple group have all disappeared. Granting that this temple too, like the Tirukkaṭṭaḷai one, had shrine for the *Parivāra-dēvatās* the reason for the erection of the Sūrya shrine in the north-east corner facing the main shrine remains to be known because at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai the Sūrya shrine is attached to the north wall and is facing south. Further the style of the Sūrya temple

4. *Vide* the *Devārams* of these saints.

5. Their songs are to be found in the *Nālāyira-Divya-Prabandhams* of the Vaishṇavas.

6. *Madras Epigraphy Reports,* Nos. 13-15 of 1908, Nos. 223-260 of 1911, No. 3 of 1905 and Nos. 290-302 of 1927.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. III, Nos. 129, 131, 137 etc.

seems to be later than that of the main shrine while that of the Gaṇeśa temple is still later.

As has been described by Prof. Sastri (p. 703) this stone temple is square from bottom to top and is a beautiful example of *dvitalaprāsāda.* It is to be noted that the front portion of the superstructure projects much from the body like the Dravidian temples at Paṭṭaḍakal and this projection is surmounted by a big *simhalalāṭa.* The miniature shrines decorating the balustrade are more developed than the Kaṇḍiyūr[8] temple. There is a pit round the sanctum as in the case of the Kaṇḍiyūr Śiva temple. Below the cornice, at intervals, are found exquisitely carved female dancers shown in various *karaṇas* etc. There are on the walls a number of niches, each containing a beautiful nearly life-size figure in standing posture. It is noteworthy that the pilasters are square in section and the niches in the centre of the three sides of the sanctum are not so much projecting out as those of the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyūr. Instead of the slightly squat figure of the small bas-relief sculptures of Kaṇḍiyūr, the figures of similar panels occurring in this temple are more slender and refined. These details go to show that this temple may not be contemporary with the Śiva temple of Kaṇḍiyūr but a few years later than that. A study of such temples as the Nageśvara, Sundareśvara of Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, Mūvarkoil of Koḍumbāḷūr, Koraṅganātha of Śrīnivāsanallūr and the small early temples[9] in the Pudukottai region reveals the fact that the idea of square predominates in their details namely, plan, pillars and horizontal section. It is well known that the square is technically called Brahmā and hence these temples may be said to be examples of the *Brahma-kānta* type of *prāsādas.* It is interesting to note in this connection that some of the early temples of the Bādāmi Chāḷukyas such as those of Mahākūṭa and the temples at Aihoḷe are also of this square type, although in their decorative details and technical treatment there is difference between the examples of temples of this type belonging to these two localities. On the other hand the early temples at Melamalai (Vijayālaya-choḷīśvara),[10] Kaṇḍiyūr,[11] Tiruppūndurutti, Tiruvai-

8. P. R. Srinivasan, *Art and Architecture of Kaṇḍiyūr* in *The Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India,* 1957-'58, pp. 67-88.

9. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *ibid.,* Figs. 4, 5.

10. *Ibid.,* Fig. 2.

11. P. R. Srinivasan, *Art and Architecture of Kaṇḍiyūr in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India,* 1957-58, Fig. of temple.

yāru and Karuntaṭṭāṅguḍi and the slightly later but larger temples[12] of Tanjore, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram and Dārāsuram seem to belong to another type not only because they have a high cylindrical *grīva* surmounted by globular or octagonal *śikhara* but also because in some of these examples at least, the pillars also are either rounded or polygonal. The rounded form is called Rudra and the type may therefore be called *Rudra-kānta.* While it is necessary to study further the significance underlying the apparent differences between these temples, it is good to remember that during the formative period of the early Choḷas, two distinct schools of architecture prevailed in the Tanjore area (including Pudukkottai) one of them emphasising square *śikhara* and the other the circular or octagonal one. Another interesting fact that emerges out of this study is that after about the time of Rājarāja I the school that specialised in the square type almost disappeared. In this connection we may mention in passing about the viscititudes of the apsidal type which predominated for nearly three centuries in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalaṃ and also scattered here and there elsewhere in South India but which afterwards completely disappeared from this area before the end of the Choḷa rule.

The beautiful little Sūrya shrine is noteworthy for its corbels and cornice. The *kūḍus* on it are worked in floral designs with the central circular space containing such interesting and fine carvings as squirrel. The *dvārapālakas* of this shrine are very interesting. They are two-armed and lean against their clubs elegantly. They have high *jaṭāmakuṭas* with big *jaṭābhāras* which are characteristic of early Choḷa figures. The flying Gandharva couples above them are especially noteworthy as they are in the early traditions of Amarāvatī, Bādāmi and Aihoḷe.

There are other structures in this temple such as the chariot-like hall intended for Naṭeśa and the *gopura,* which are also interesting for their architecture. Both of them seem to belong to the same period i.e. to about the 12th-13th century A.D. The *Nṛittasabhā* is in the second *prākāra.* It is a high *maṇḍapa* facing south. On either side of the flight of steps is a large stone elephant, now covered with plaster, suggesting that they are intended to draw the hall. A little behind the elephants on either side is a galloping horse (Fig. 1) also of stone. They are not covered now with

12. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *ibid.,* Fig. 11, 12, 15.

plaster. Their details are therefore clearly seen. The workmanship is very ornate and exuberant. In spite of this, the movement of the horses has been skilfully delineated by the sculptor. However, their interest lies in the fact that they give us an idea about how the royal horses or horses employed in temple processions etc., used to be decorated in those times. Beyond the horses, on either side is a beautifully worked stone wheel (Fig. 2) which gives the hall the character of a chariot. Each wheel is worked with lotus petals in the centre, then a circle of birds, twelve club-like spokes with a Sūrya figure in between two spokes and the rim. It may be mentioned in this connection that this belongs to the group of huge stone ratha-like *maṇḍapas* such as those at Chidambaram and Dārāsuram, Vriddhāchalam and Tāramaṅgalam. Except for the absence of the wheels and the animals, the 1000-pillared *maṇḍapa* of Chidambaram may also be said to belong to this group.

The details of workmanship of the architectural elements of the stone base of the *gopura* are characteristic of the later Choḷa period. This is supported by the style of the sculptures that adorn it. A few of the sculptures are noticed below.

Sculptures: As is usual in the case of this class of temples, two groups of sculptures are met with namely the images of deities or other figures in very high relief, and a number of bas-relief panels.

Sculptures in high relief: Most interesting of the sculptures of this class are those that are found in the niches on the walls of the sanctum and the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. They fall into two groups, namely, images representing Dakshiṇāmūrti, Ardhanārī, Brahmā, Durgā and Bhikshāṭana, and figures of men and women the identification of which is puzzling. The most recent study of them is as mentioned above by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.[13] They are all three-quarter life-size and no two of them are done in the same posture or gesture. Nor has the *sthapati* attempted depicting any of them in any unnatural postures or executing them disproportionately. Every one of them is beautifully modelled and every inch of them is carefully chiselled with consummate skill. Their splendid plastic qualities are finished with tasteful and delicate decorative embellishments which are at once elegant and appropriate and kept

13. *Vide* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *ibid.*, *Chapter on Art* for references and figures; Stella Kramrisch has illustrated a couple of sculptures in her book *The Art of India* (The Phaidon Press, 1954), as Figs. 111, 112.

under studied restraint. This would perhaps indicate the freedom that the sculptors had in making sculptures other than the divine ones in making which they have to observe certain canonical prescriptions. Thus these sculptures are obviously superb specimens of the art and are unsurpassed for their classical qualities.

The sculptures that adorn the tiers of every face of the superstructure of the sanctum are also noteworthy although some of them have been heavily plastered. Of these the Viṇādhara Dakshiṇāmūrti sculpture on the first floor on the southern side is noteworthy.

Bas-reliefs: A large number of bas-relief sculptures are also met with in the various structures comprising this temple. Of these the small panels illustrating scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, etc., occurring below the pilasters of the sanctum, and referred to and illustrated in the *Cōḷas* by Prof. Sastri, are fine. For the freshness of conception, the delicacy of treatment, the marvellous manner in which the *sthapati* had brought out the diverse emotions of the different characters in a scene, and, above all, for the perfect balance and the compositional qualities, hardly there are any equals to these. It is amazing to know that these have been achieved in panels each measuring hardly a foot by nine inches. From among the Rāmāyaṇa panels Prof. Sastri has illustrated five. A few other panels are illustrated here such as Rāma being helped by Guha (Fig. 3) to cross the river, and the fight between Vāli and Sugrīva (Fig. 4).

Mahishamardinī : Besides the Rāmāyaṇa panels, as in the case of the Kaṇḍiyūr temple, there are here panels illustrating scenes from the Bhāgavata as well as from Devī Bhāgavata. The oft-repeated theme of Durgā's fight with Mahishāsura is the subject of one (Fig. 5) of the panels. No doubt, magnificent examples of this theme are those of Māmallapuram and Ellora. They were conceived on a monumental scale and executed with remarkable dexterity. Yet between the Māmallapuram Mahishamardinī and that of Ellora there is a lot of difference in the treatment of individual figures of the composition. Undoubtedly in both, the Durgā figure is graceful and the figure of the demon is powerfully executed. The power of the demon which had not experienced before a test like this, had to yield slowly to the overwhelming prowess of the goddess. But while at Māmallapuram the sculptor, by showing the demon at only a slightly inclined but stiff posture had depict-

ed the first stage in the defeat of the demon, at Ellora the sculptor had succeeded in showing the demon greatly agitated.

Returning to the panel under discussion, it is obviously a miniature compared to the other two versions. Yet this is a masterpiece, possessing all the qualities of the other two. In addition it has a beautiful rhythm which is absent in them. The element of rhythm is here introduced cleverly by the *sthapati* by means of depicting a step further than at Ellora, the perturbed condition of the demon who had no other go but to take to his heels. Here the demon is shown not merely receding as in the other two examples, but as actually fleeing which is depicted in the admirable early Chaḷukyan way with slightly curved limb and body.

These meaningful and exquisite panels occurring as they do alongside of the marvels of sculpture in high relief referred to above, will be found not at all suffering from such a juxtaposition. It was a remarkable experience for us that while examining these small panels, they alone loomed large and nothing else could distract our attention, which is a vital characteristic of a noble creative work. Indeed a really beautiful thing shines forth in all its glory, whatever may be its size and setting, because it is unbounded and transcendental in character. This shows that the technique of bas-relief work was still continued with a remarkable adherence to ancient traditions, in spite of the limited patronage it had.

Naṭeśa: It may be said, again, that every bit of carving found in the temples belonging to the early Chola period is an exquisite piece of work, throbs with life and is full of meaning and significance. In spite of their occurrence at very insignificant places in a temple their value, not only for an aesthetic appreciation of them but also for the history of the motifs that they display, is immense. Hence it is necessary to examine all the works of this kind. Of several such carvings of this temple, the one representing Naṭeśa, carved in the circular space formed by the *makara-toraṇas* surmounting the niche where a big monkish figure is found, is very interesting. Here Śiva is dancing the beautiful *kaṭi-sama* pose exactly in the manner of the Ellora example. But there are a few significant differences between these two. At Ellora the theme is rendered on a monumental scale, the subsidiary figures are numerous, and Śiva has eight hands. On the other hand here the panel is of miniature size, the subsidiary figures number hardly more than four and only four hands are

present here. From the insignificant position where it is carved it is apparent that it was meant to be a decorative piece. Notwithstanding this limiting factor, it is a very interesting piece of sculpture in more than one respect. First the workmanship of it is so fine that it compares well with the Ellora representation. Secondly, being almost a miniature copy of the Ellora Naṭeśa, it may be said to prove unequivocally the unbroken continuity of artistic traditions in the South as well as the influence exerted by the high standards of such traditions of one part of the South upon another. It is well to remember here that the Naṭeśa at Kaṇḍiyūr is another example of this category. Above all, notwithstanding its intrinsic merits, the facts that it is merely a copy based on a known model and that Naṭeśa sculptures in other forms, in the same context, are absent may be taken to prove that no new forms were created then. It is astonishing to note that even here the *ānanda tāṇḍava* form of Naṭeśa is not in evidence and it will be good to recall here what we have said elsewhere while discussing the Kaṇḍiyūr Naṭeśa.

Madanikais: The next group of bas-relief sculptures that deserve notice here are those carved on the basement of the *gopura*. They include figures of animals such as lions in prancing posture, floral designs and women. As a whole the workmanship of the entire group is remarkably vivacious and lively. For instance, the lions are done in the traditional way and do not show the elongated horn-like parts on either side of the head and protruding eyes which characterise the lions of subsequent periods.

Apart from these, the representations of women in various postures are, in fact, the most interesting amongst these. Probably they are *Madanikais*. Notwithstanding the emphasis noticed in these figures on elaborate ornamentation and difficult postures which paved the way for stiff and lifeless sculptures of later periods, some of the qualities of the classical school are found to linger in them. Two *Madanikais* are illustrated here which are, in their postures, diametrically opposed to each other. The woman (Fig. 6) standing with her left leg against the wall and holding a *chauri* in her right hand is an exceedingly fine specimen of the art of the period. The other figure which is a bit broken, represents a woman (Fig. 7) in a posture which is obviously violent and manly. These are most probably intended by the *sthapati*, as studies of woman in contrasting postures and by which he wanted to display his mastery and skill in a conscious way. It may be

mentioned in passing, that this egoism instead of dedication and devotion of the sculptors which was growing through the ages was responsible for the decline of the art in later periods. It is a fact that, most unfortunately for the resurgent India, the so-called artists of to-day seem to delight in possessing this *tāmasic* tendency. It is no wonder that their works are marked by hideousness and confusion, and mean something contrary to the meaning of art.

Dancing figures: There are a number of sculptures, in high and low relief, representing a variety of dance postures, in the various structures of this temple, namely, the sanctum, the *nṛitta maṇḍapa* and the *gopura*. Leaving aside the dwarfs under the cornice of the central shrines shown in different postures which may or may not have connection with the art of dancing the other ostensibly dancing figures are those of women who are sometimes accompanied by men instrumentalists. At the corners and below the cornice of the central shrine are a few magnificent figures of this group which are in high relief. One of them is illustrated here (Fig. 8).

The series of dancing sculptures on the basement of the *nṛitta maṇḍapa* is, however, very interesting as they are obviously illustrations of the *karaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, like those carved on the basement of the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* at Chidambaram. These figures are not merely of interest from this standpoint but each one of them is a masterpiece of sculpture. Thus the sculptor had successfully accomplished a two-fold objective here, unlike the sculptor responsible for the *karaṇa* sculptures carved in the pillars of all the *gopuras* of Chidambaram. The sculptures under reference are unfortunately covered with a thick coat of whitewash on account of which no complete examination of them is possible. Hence two significant panels alone are reproduced here. One of them (Fig. 9) shows a woman performing the *lalāṭa-tilaka karaṇa* (No. 50) with two other women in two other *karaṇas* which is carved in a superb manner. The other panel (Fig. 10) shows a woman performing the difficult *karaṇa* of *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* (No. 108) with a woman on either side.

3. *Sculptures in the Śārṅgapāṇi temple*

The temple of Vishṇu known as Śārṅgapāṇi (Ārāvamudan in Tamil), i.e., *Śārṅga* (bow) in hand, (but not 'Sāraṅgapāṇi' as the temple is miscalled now; for the latter term meaning "'sāraṅga'

(deer) in hand," obviously suggesting Śiva, which cannot at all be applicable to this temple) is also of great interest for its architecture, whereas the other structures belong to various other periods. The *gopura* which is an imposing one embellished with innumerable stucco figures representing stories from Hindu mythology is in the style of the mid-Vijayanagar period, except for the basal portion in stone, which seems to belong to the later Choḷa period.

Architecturally, the central shrine is very important. It is a significant example from the point of view of its elevation. Like the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple of Kāñchīpuram, this is also a three-storeyed shrine each storey serving as a distinct sanctum and the sanctums including the main one containing an image of the Lord in one of the three positions, namely, *sthānaka, āsana* and *śayana*. This type of *vimāna* is called by the priests as the *ashṭāṅga vimāna*. Such a class of *vimānas* seems to have been mentioned in the *Āgama* texts such as the *Vaikhānasa*. This type of *vimāna* has been in vogue from very ancient times and the temples of this type are intended only as Vishṇugṛihas (*cf*. Parameśvara-Vishṇugṛiha, the original name of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple of Kāñchīpuram). If this is accepted then the so-called Dharmarāja-ratha, which is incomplete, at Māmallapuram may also belong to this class of temples although it cannot be said to be exclusively Vaishṇavite. The occurrence of sculptures representing themes from Śaiva stories in the Dharmarāja-ratha is obviously due to the fact that at that time the sectarian feeling was not rabid. There are also some more Vishṇu temples of this class, for example, the Kūḍal Aḷagar temple at Madura of later Pāṇḍyan period, the temple at Tirukkoshṭiyūr in the Ramanathapuram district of early Pāṇḍyan period, the Mannār temple in the Tirunelveli district and the late Pallava Sundararājaperumāḷ temple of Uttiramerūr.

A word of explanation about the significance of this type of Vishṇu temples may not be out of place here. According to Hindu philosophy the place of the Supreme Lord is called *Parandhāma* (transcendental abode), hence the Lord's name *Parandhāman*. In order to emphasise this idea, temples to Śiva and Vishṇu, the Lords in Śaivism and Vaishṇavism respectively, are built on the hills, as far as possible, as for instance, Simhāchalam and Veṅkaṭādri. Wherever temples to these gods had to be built on plain grounds, even there, the *giri* (mountain) idea is brought out by calling the place after a mountain as for instance, Vṛiddhācalam and Hastigiri. The same conception is extended to another deity also, name-

ly, Subrahmanya. To emphasise this Parandhāma idea, the Śaivites and the Vaishṇavites have tried to have artificial hillocks (கட்டுமலை) for building temples on. Among the Vaishṇavite temples of this class may be mentioned the Chakrapāṇi temple at Kumbhakoṇam itself.

Although the idea of *Giridhāman,* as equivalent of Parandhāman is given concrete form as shown above, the reason for building three-sanctum temples to Vishṇu remains to be known. It is well known that from the time of the Vedas downwards the association of the three divisions of the universe, namely, *Bhūh, Bhuvah* and *Svah* is intimate only with Vishṇu and not with any other deity. The very same idea is exemplified by the *avatār* of Trivikrama where however the universe is likewise conceived into three regions. He is also represented here as if acquiring from Bali the lordship over these three divisions. Anyway Vishṇu's intimate association with the entire universe is well attested to by those references, and hence the insistance of the *āchāryas* of Vaishṇavism of the Lord's immanence (*antaryāmitva*) in this universe. This seems to be perfectly in accordance with the Lord's role in Hindu cosmology namely the Protector of the universe. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to say, that in order to bring out this idea clearly the Vaishṇavites arranged to construct temples of the three-sanctum type.

Dancing figures: Just as in the case of the Nāgeśvara temple, this temple too has, on its *gopura* and on the basements of the central shrines, a galaxy of bas-relief sculptures representing men and women in various dance postures. The sculptures of the central shrine show women and are almost in the same style as that of the sculptures on the *gopura* and the *nṛitta maṇḍapa* of the Nāgeśvara temple.

Unique series of Karaṇa sculptures: But there is, on the *gopura,* a remarkable series of dancing figures which goes round its basement. The whole series is not completely visible now due to the existence of a few structures abutting it on the north and the south, built in the subsequent periods. Consequently it is difficult to know the exact number of figures that make up the series. But by counting those that are seen, and examining the variety of postures in which they are carved, it is easily seen that each one of them is in illustration of one of the 108 *karaṇas* of the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* and that, therefore, the total number of the representations should be more or less 108. It is well to remember here the

famous series of labelled dancing sculptures occurring in the *gopuras* of the Chidambaram temple, where the performer is a woman; and the series of dancing sculptures where Śiva himself is the performer recently discovered on the walls of the first floor or second *tala* of the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore.

Thus a woman and Śiva are respectively the performers of the *karaṇas* in the above mentioned series. It is interesting to note that in the series now under examination, the performer is a boy or youth with a high *jaṭāmakuṭa*-like headgear and two hands. It is rather difficult for us to identify this figure. It is well-known that in South India only two deities are represented with features exactly similar to those of the present figure. They are Bālasubrahmaṇya (also sometimes identified as the baby saint Tirujñānasambanda) and Bālakṛishṇa. The temple is dedicated to Vishṇu and that the number of Śaivite figures occuring in it is negligible. This circumstantial evidence furnishes a clue to the identification of the performer of the *karaṇas* as Bālakṛishṇa. It is now clear that this series like the Tanjore one becomes another great landmark in the history of dancing in South India: hence it is another unique series of *karaṇa* sculptures.[14] Some of the figures of this series are illustrated here (Figs. 11-31). Interestingly one of them shows a multi-armed deity (Fig. 11) performing the *ūrddhva-tāṇḍava* mode of dance. One will be tempted to mistake the figure as that of Śiva on the basis of the multiple arms and the mode of dance. But in the present context the authors of this series have substituted Lord Vishṇu in his aspect of Virāṭpurusha for Śiva. In this aspect it was that Kṛishṇa gave darśan to Yaśodā at Bṛndāvan and to Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. This is found at the north-east corner of the *gopura*, which is the direction presided over by Īśāna. This fact coupled with the mode of dance exhibited here clearly shows that the authors of this series have acknowledged in their own way the fact that the art of dancing owes much to Śiva.

14. I noticed this in 1955 during my tour to Kumbhakoṇam and brought it to the notice of the members of the Society immediately after my return from tour. But 40 figures of this series have been illustrated in the Tamil monthly *Kāveri* (Kumbhakoṇam) in its Annual, dated December, 1958. Our thanks are due to the Editor of the journal for the service he has done in this regard. Some figures from this journal are reproduced here with the kind courtesy of the Editor.

4. *Interesting icons in the Kāśi Viśvanāthasvāmi Temple*

This temple is situated on the northern bank of the famous Mahāmagham tank. It faces west. It has two *prākāras.* The outer one has a big *gopura* belonging to Vijayanagar period. At the north-east corner of the second *prākāra* is a Śiva-liṅga of granite which looks very old and to which is attributed great significance. There is a big pillared *maṇḍapa* in front of the entrance of the first *prākāra.* In this *prākāra* are found a few shrines dedicated to Gaṇeśa and other deities. Behind the central shrine, lining up the wall of the *prākāra* is a cloister where are early sculptures representing Sapta-mātṛikas etc. The central shrine is built anew. But the sculptures representing dvārapālakas, Gaṇeśa, Liṅgodbhava etc., which are clearly in the early Choḷa style, prove that the original structure may have beloṅged to the early Choḷa period. There was then probably only the shrine containing Śiva-liṅga which is said to be *svayambhū* (naturally existing). The *maṇḍapa* in front of this is obviously a later addition and here is another shrine, facing south, dedicated to the goddess. It is interesting to note that the name of Śiva here is Kāśi Viśvanātha and that of the goddess is Viśālākshī. This has to be taken to denote the fact that at some remote time the installation of the *liṅga* was done by some very important personage who had something to do with Kāśi. It may be mentioned here that in several other places of South India there are temples dedicated to Viśvanātha and Viśālākshī, the most famous of them being the temples at Rāmeśvaram. This practice has probably to be attributed to the North Indian Śaivite teachers who either came here of their own accord or were requested to come here by some powerful king, for preaching the doctrines of Śaivism. The existence of such temples indicates great veneration that the Śaivites had for the forms of Śiva of Kāśi which is Śiva-kshetra *par excellence* on the earth.

Nine Nadī-mātṛikās or *Nava-kanyakās*: Apart from these there exists here a group of nine very interesting life-size sculptures in the round representing nine goddesses or virgins. It is not known where these were formerly. The temple authorities informed us that these were originally found in the north-west corner of the second *prākāra.* Subsequently they were removed to the shrine in the first *prākāra* where they are now installed. According to local traditions there are two stories relating to them. The

popular story is that these represent nine virgins (*Navakanyakās*). But from such iconographical features as the presence in some of them four hands holding attributes characteristic of goddesses, and the presence of *makuṭas* in all of them which is another distinguishing detail pertaining to images of deities, it is easily seen that they are representations of goddesses. Which goddesses? This question is answered by the second story according to which these are representations of nine river goddesses namely, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Godāvarī, Kṛishṇā, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāverī and Sarayū. This theme is elaborated in the Sthalamāhātmya. But their identification presents some difficulty. All of them are in the same *samabhaṅga* posture. Two of them are four-armed while the rest have two arms only. In both the cases two hands are in *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita* poses. Of the two four-armed ones, one is called Gaṅgā (Fig. 32). But there are *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in its upper hands indicating Durgā. The other is called Sarasvatī (Fig. 33) where the upper hands are broken and hence the attributes held are not known. But there is a tortoise carved on its pedestal, which is obviously intended to be its *chinha*. It is known that the tortoise is the mark of Yamunā and not of any other river goddess. This makes two points clear. Firstly there has happened a confusion in the arrangement of these nine figures when they were re-installed which has resulted in calling Yamunā as Sarasvatī. Secondly the occurrence of the tortoise on this is proof positive that the other figures should have also their *chinhas* carved on their pedestals although now they are not easily seen.

Another interesting thing is that seven of them are in the early Choḷa style and the remaining two are in the later Choḷa style. This indicates that only the former seven should have originally existed representing the seven sacred rivers, namely, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī and that the latter two were added subsequently. The two images in later Choḷa style are now called as Kāverī and Kṛishṇā. Among the remaining seven, Sindhu is absent but Sarayū is present instead. These things confirm that there has occurred a confusion at the time of their re-installation. Not withstanding this, their importance for the history of the worship of the river goddesses in South India is very great. And in view of the fact that these are the only examples of this kind known so far in Tamilnāḍ, they are also unique.

5. *Conclusion*

The above study brings to light, for the first time, some very interesting pieces of information about South Indian temple architecture and sculpture. That this information has been obtained from a few of the temples at a single place, namely, Kumbhakoṇam proves that the scope of such a study is unlimited. Among the various architectural and sculptural items of interest, the following are noteworthy:—

The central shrine of the Nāgeśvara temple at Kumbhakoṇam which is datable to *ca.* 900 A.D. is a fine example of the *Brahma-kānta* type of temples. This type is also designated as the *Nāgara* in the various South Indian *Āgamas* and *Śilpa* texts. Though originally this shrine was surrounded by a group of subsidiary shrines, none of them have survived, except for the Sūrya shrine, although its present structure does not belong to the same period to which the central shrine belongs. The Śārṅgapāṇi temple of this place is another specimen of the *trigṛiha* type of Vishṇu shrine. The Chakrapāṇi temple is an example of temples built on hillocks (கட்டுமலை).

Among the sculptures, besides the well known life-size sculptures of deities as well as human beings occurring in the Nāgeśvara temple, there are a number of other sculptures such as the dancing figures as well as figures of deities like Vīṇādhara, adorning various parts of the same temple. They are worth detailed study. The series of sculptures representing the *karaṇas* according to the Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, occurring in the *gopura* of the Śārṅgapāṇi temple is unique. Here the *karaṇas* are performed by Bālakṛishṇa which shows that the South Indian Vaishṇavites had also preserved, in a great measure, the traditions of the art of dancing. The sculptures which are approximately of the later Choḷa period bring to light the fact that at that time the art received patronage from all quarters, because to about the same period belong the well known *karaṇa* sculptures of the Chidambaram *gopuras*. The small bas-relief panels representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Devī-Māhātmya* occurring in the Nāgeśvara temple include a few vigorous sculptures. One of them showing the fight between Durgā and Mahishāsura is a remarkable specimen of the art. Most interesting of the sculptures detailed above are those representing the nine *Nadī-mātṛikās* which are found in the Kāśi-Viśvanātha temple at the place. All of them are in the round

and are life-size. Some of them belong to the Pallava-Choḷa transition period, while the rest belong to the later Choḷa period. Though they are said to represent nine Virgins (or *Nava-kanyakās*), their iconographic details, especially *lāñchanas* (cognizances) occurring on the pedestals of some of them go to show that they represent the river-goddesses. The Kāśi Viśvanātha temple stands near the famous Mahāmagham tank where in every twelve years, all the sacred rivers of India are said to be present. Amongst these rivers, the most important are Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Godāvarī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī. To them may be added the Tuṅgabhadrā and Sindhu or Tuṅgabhadrā and Sarayū. These seven or nine rivers or river-goddesses may, therefore, be said to stand for the remaining sacred rivers of India. It is but natural that their images are made and offered worship by the people of Kumbhakoṇam from ancient times. The existence of these images in the temple dedicated to Viśvanātha of Kāśi where the famous Ganges flows is but proper.

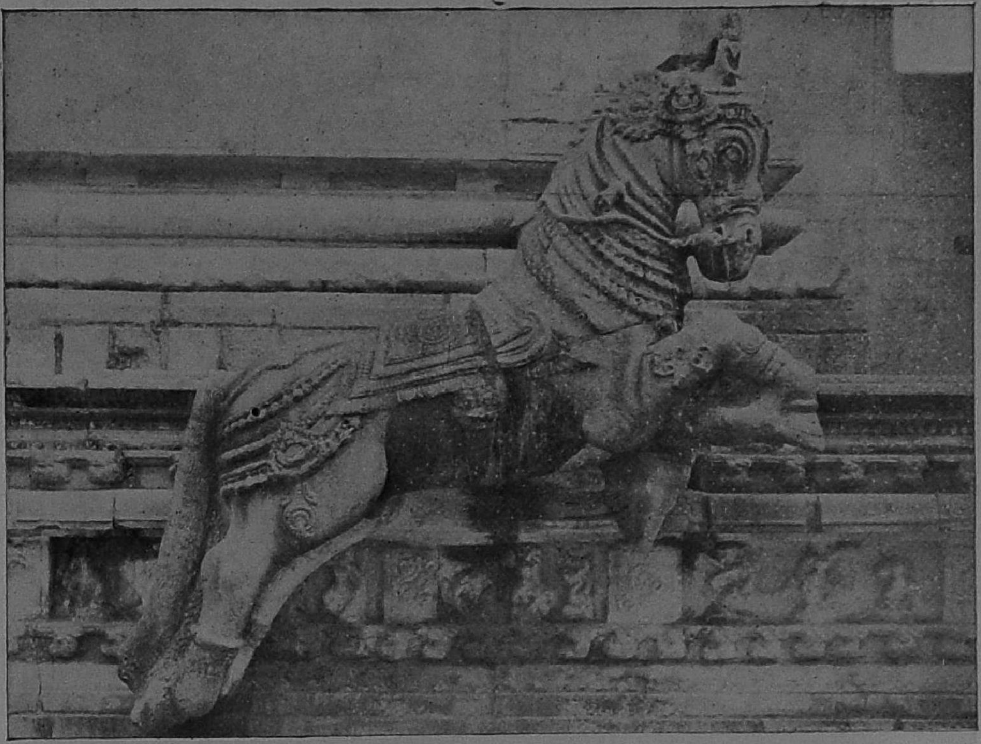


Fig. 1. Horse (granite), Nāgeśvara Temple

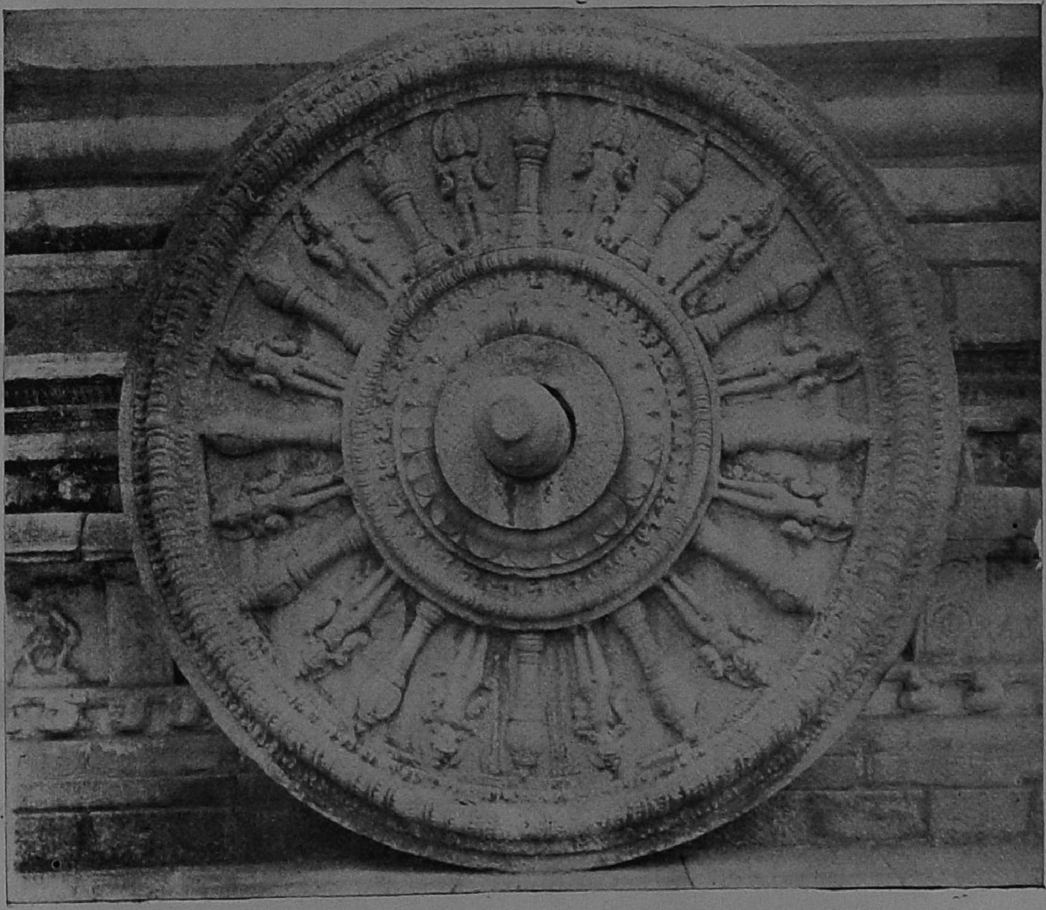


Fig. 2. Wheel (granite), Nāgeśvara Temple

Fig. 3. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa being helped by Guha, Nāgeśvara Temple

Fig. 4. Fight between Vāli and Sugrīva, Nāgeśvara Temple

Fig. 5. Durgā's fight with Mahishāsura, Nāgēśvara Temple

Fig. 6. Madanikai, in the *gopura* of Nāgeśvara Temple

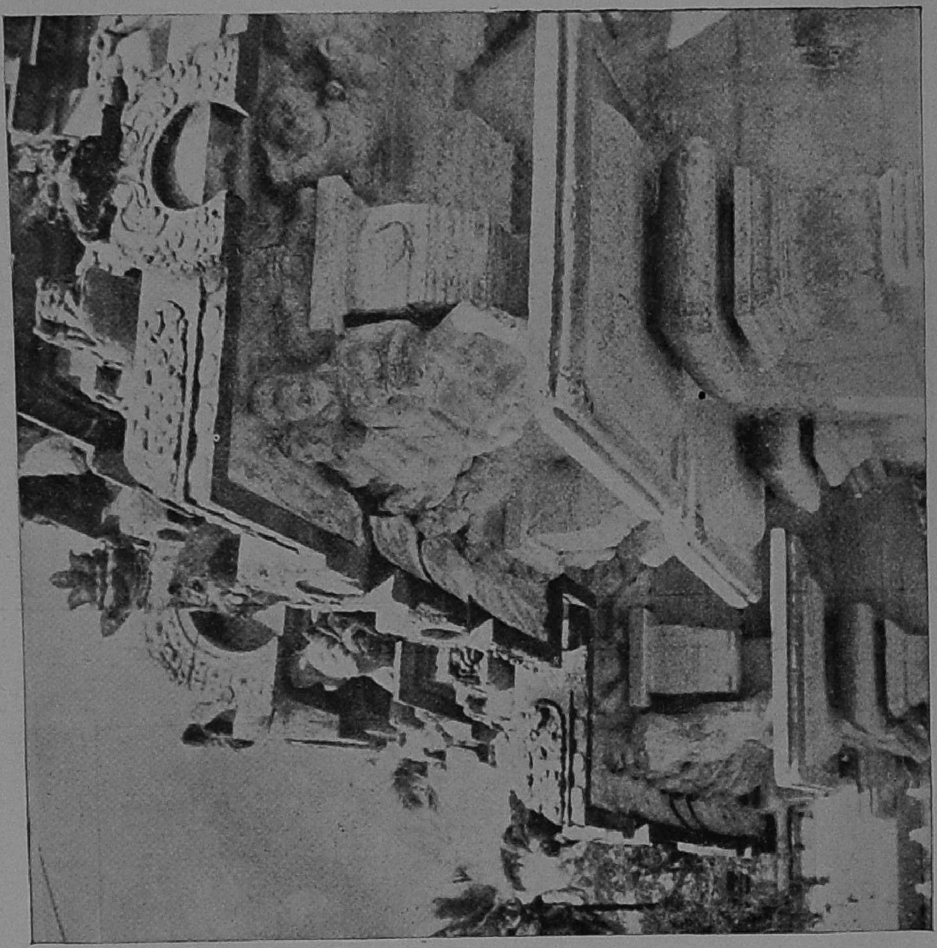


Fig. 8. Dancer at the corner, Nāgeśvara Temple

Fig. 7. Madanikai, in the *gopura* of Nāgeśvara Temple

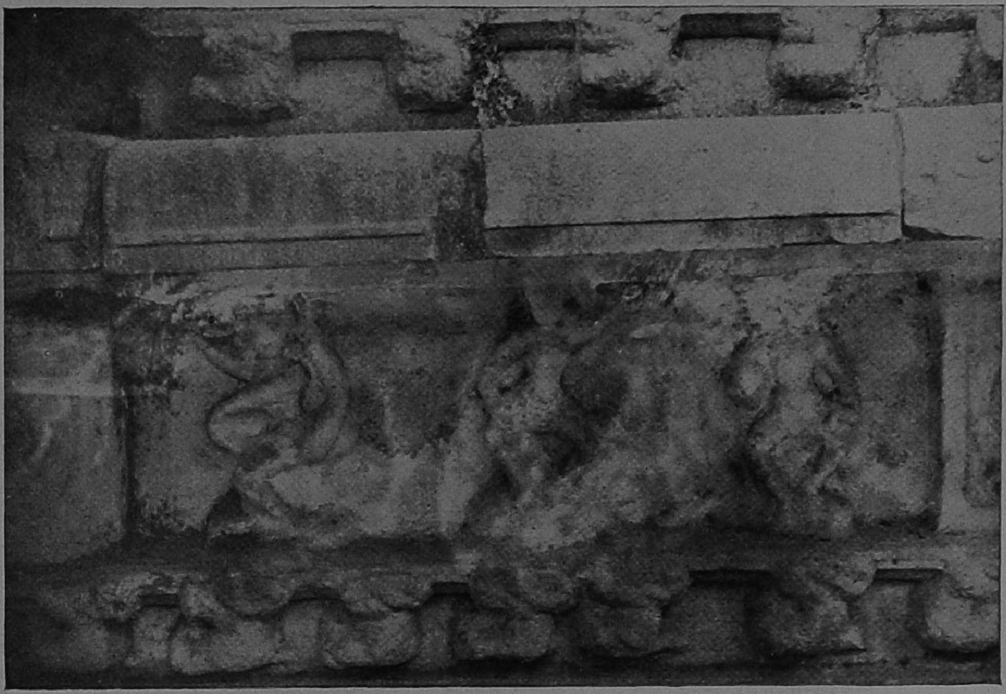


Fig. 9. Dancer in the *Lalāṭa tilaka* mode, Nāgēśvara Temple

Fig. 10. Dancer in the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* mode, Nāgeśvara Temple

Figs. 11 to 31. Illustrate the *Karaṇa* sculptures in the Śārṅgapāṇi Temple

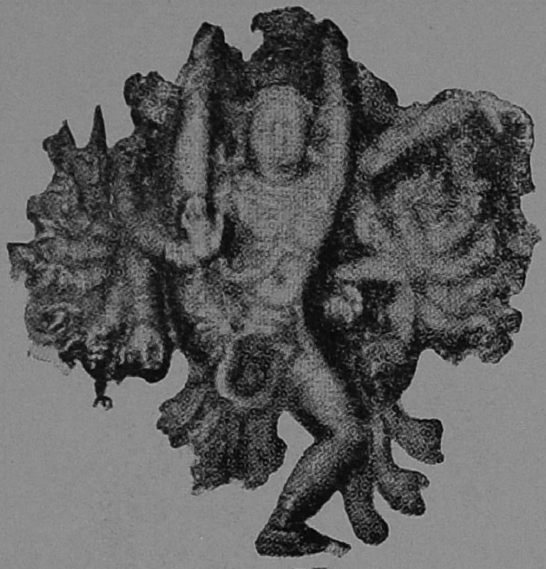
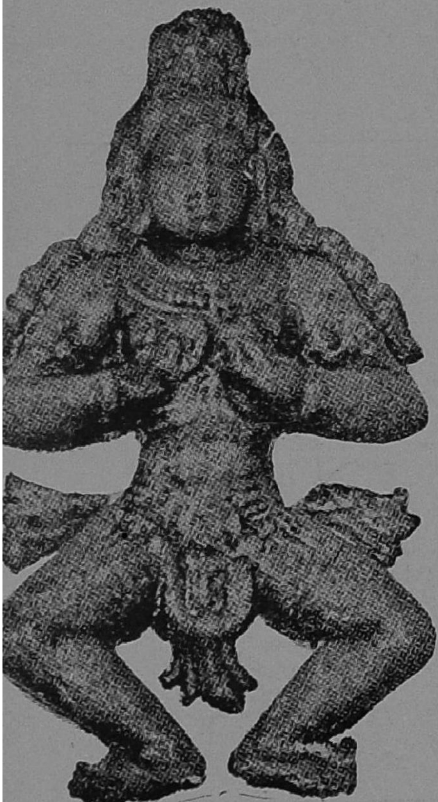


Fig. 11. Vishṇu as Virāṭpurusha performing *Ūrddhva Naṭana*

Fig. 12. Karaṇa Talapushpapuṭa (No. 1).



g. 13. Karaṇa Maṇḍalasvastika (No. 8)

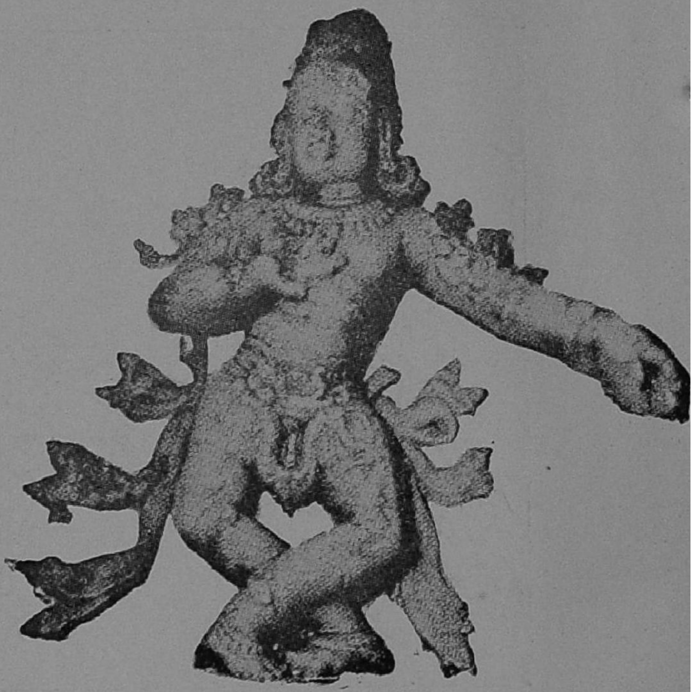


Fig. 14. Karaṇa Ardha Rechita (No. 12)

Fig. 15. Karaṇa Bhujaṅgatrāsita (No. 24)

Fig. 16. Karaṇa Ūrddhvajānu (No. 25)

Fig. 17. Karaṇa Nikuñchita (No. 26)

Fig. 18. Karaṇa Daṇḍapaksha (No. 34)

Fig. 19. Karaṇa Viśākha Rechita (No. 37)

Fig. 20. Karaṇa Chatura (No. 39)

Fig. 21. Karaṇa Bhujangāñchita (No. 40)

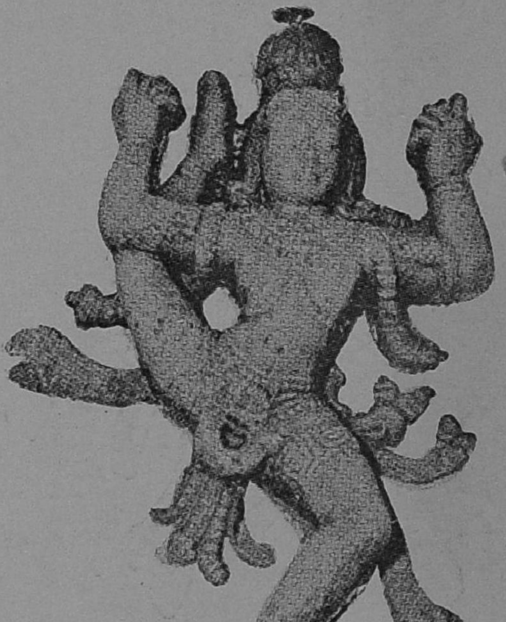


Fig. 22. Karaṇa Vṛiśchika Kuṭṭita (No. 42)

Fig. 23. Karaṇa Vṛiśchika Rechita (No. 46)

Fig. 24. Karaṇa Vṛiśchika (No. 47)

Fig. 25. Karaṇa Pārśvakrānta (No. 63)

Fig. 26. Karaṇa Atikrānta (No. 66)

Fig. 27. Karaṇa Sūchi(?) (No. 76)

Fig. 28. Karaṇa Preṅkholita (No. 84)

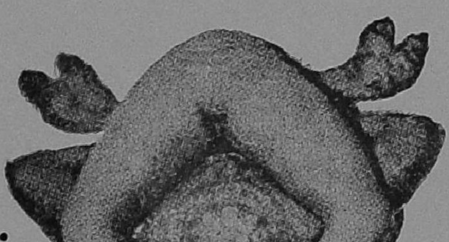


Fig. 29. Karaṇa Śakaṭāsya (No. 107)

Fig. 30. Karaṇa Gaṅgāvataraṇa (No. 108)

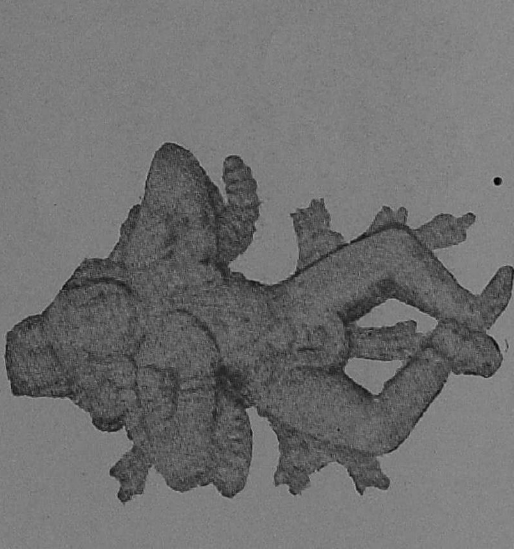


Fig. 31. Karaṇa Arddha Suchi (No. 77)

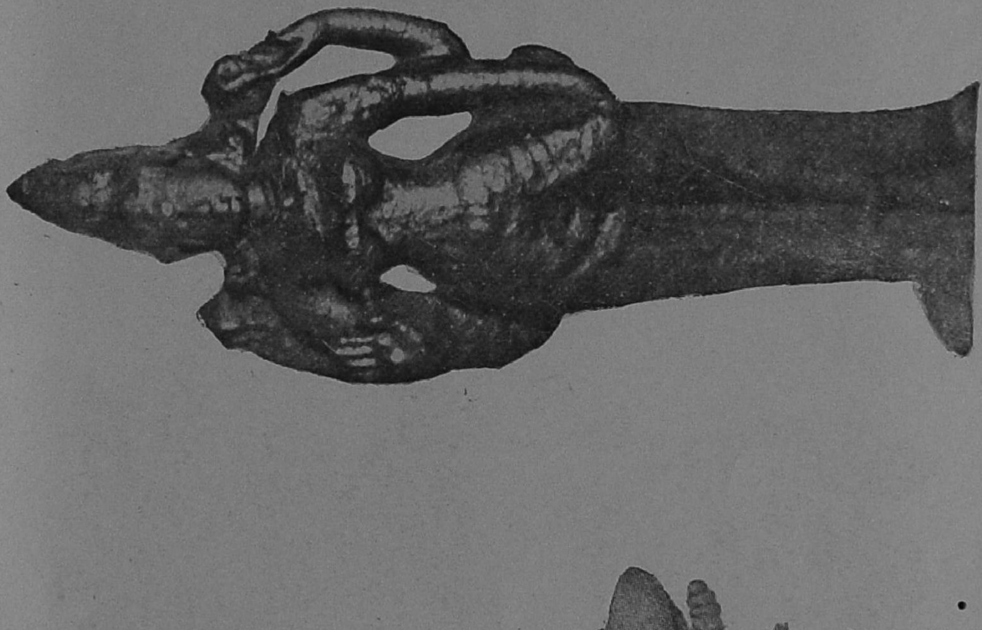


Fig. 32. Durgā (?) but called as Gaṅgā, Kāśi Viśvanātha Temple

Fig. 33. Yamunā but called as Sarasvatī, Kāśi Viśvanātha Temple

PAḶḶAṈKŌVIL JAINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF EARLY PALLAVA PERIOD*

By

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Paḷḷaṉkōvil is a small village in the Tañjāvūr district of the Madras State, about four miles from Tirutturaipūṇḍi, a Railway Junction and taluk headquarter station, by the side of the bus-route from that station to Mannārguḍi. Two copper-plate grants were unearthed in that village nearly twenty-five years ago while reducing a mound or high level ground (*mēḍu*) for converting the area as cultivable land. The other particulars about the discovery are not known. It is not also known whether any other object was found along with these plates. After passing through some hands, these plates are now in possession of the well-known publisher of *Tamiḻ-Ilakkiya-Śelvam*, cheap and critical editions of the Tamil classics, Śrī S. Rajam of Messrs. Murray & Co., Madras.

Grant of Pallava Siṁhavarman

The set consists of five sheets of copper strung in a ring of the same metal through a hole in the left side of the plate in the middle. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal, (Fig. 1) having the embossed emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right flanked with a lamp on either side. There is at the top an umbrella wth a fly-whisk (*chauri*) on either side. Below these are seen in a row, commencing above the head of the bull, the figures of a pot (*kalaśa* or *pūrṇa-kumbha*), a drum (*mṛidaṅga*), a stool (*āsana*), an elephant goad (?) (*aṅkuśa*) and *śrīvatsa*. Above the back of the bull there is a crescent and a star (*chandra-tāraka*)[1] and below the bull a wavy line. One line

* Paper read at the meeting of the Society held on 28-2-1958.

1. Very likely these represent the moon and the sun (*chandrārkka*). While editing the *Kūram* plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Dr. Hultzsch, in describing the seal of that grant, takes these as ' a moon and a liṅga' (*S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144). Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri P. Seshadri Sastri, who edited the Vunna Guruvapalem plates of the same king, also took them likewise (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 91). These are referred to further on in this paper.

of writing runs round these figures near the edge of the seal, counter-clockwise, beginning near the face of the bull and reads *Śrī Siṁhavarmaṇaḥ - pātra - skhalita-vṛittīnām - śāstramā-[nasām]*, meaning, 'of Siṁhavarma (belonging to the family of) of those that flowed out of the vessel and whose minds dwelt in the *śāstras*', thus mentioning the name of the monarch in whose reign the grant was issued. The writing occupies only about three-fourths of the line. The other fourth is filled-up with horizontal strokes and circles.

The outer faces of the first and the last plates of the set are left blank while the three middle plates are written on both the sides. Thus the record contains eight pages of writing beginning with the inner side of the first plate and ending with the inner side of the fifth and last plate. Each inscribed side of the plate contains eight lines of writing, thus having a total of sixty-four lines. It is usual to find the rims of the plates slightly raised serving as a protection to the writing thereon. But these do not have such protection and as such the rims are slightly corroded. Still the writing is not damaged and is in a good state of preservation.

The first sheet is broken into two, the left half remaining with the set strung in the ring through the hole, and the right half being entirely lost. As such, only the beginnings of the first eight lines are available.

As is usual with the copper-plate grants of the Pallavas, the Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas found in the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts, the first one in Sanskrit, composed in verse, written in the Grantha script and running for twenty-six lines, and the second consisting of thirty-eight lines in Tamil prose, written in the Tamil script. Each part is complete in itself, though complementary to one another.

The immediate *object* of the grant is to register the gift of landed property to the Jaina religious teacher Vajra-Nandi at Paruttikkuṉṟil to meet the expenses of worship.

The inscription does not have the auspicious expression *Svasti Śrī* (meaning 'Let there be prosperity', usually translated as 'Hail Prosperity!) at the beginning of either of the parts as is usually found in all the other rceords found in this part of the country. Nonetheless, it has an auspicious beginning in both the parts,

The Sanskrit portion begins with the expression *Svarggāpavargga*. The same opening, in its Prâkṛit form *Svaggāpavagga* occurs in the Ghaṭayāla inscription[2] of Kakkuka, which also is a Jaina record. The Tamil portion simply begins with the honorific word *Kō vijaya* meaning 'victorious king'.

The record opens with an introductory verse praising the groups of Jinēndras, Munīndras and Dēvēndras. Then follows evidently the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas usually found in the other grants. But owing to the fragmentary nature of this portion, only the names of Aṁbujanābha (Vishṇu), Gīrvāṇē[śa] (i.e. Brahma, the lord of Gīrvāṇī or Sarasvatī), [Śam]yu, Bharadvāja, Drōṇa and Pallava are available. In this family of the Pallavas was born Siṁhavarman at whose feet many kings bowed and to whom was born Siṁhavishṇu. The latter is said to have conquered another Siṁhavishṇu (jita Siṁhavishṇu)[3] and won many battles. He also conquered the land of the Choḷas (*Chōḷāvanī*), having as its girdle groves of areca-palms, and sugar-cane, rice-fields and plantain cultivation, and having the daughter of Kavēra (*Kavēratanayā*), i.e., the river Kāvērī as its garland. The king gave away the village called Śramaṇāśrama (the hermitage of the Śramaṇas) to the great ascetic Vajra-Nandi of the Nandisaṁgha at the holy place of the auspicious lord Vardhamāna for the purpose of worshipping the groups of Jinēndras and Munīndras.

The executor (*ājñapti*) was the minister Narabhaya who was however fearless and the protector (*abhaya*); and the composer of the *praśasti* was Mēdhāvī, well read in all the *śāstras* and who was like Bṛihaspati in intelligence.

The Tamil portion says that the king *Vijaya Siṁhavarman* gifted in the *sixth year of his reign* the village of Amaṇśērkkai included in the Perunagara-nāḍu, a sub-division of Veṇkuṉṟa-k-kōṭṭam as a *paḷḷichchandam*, after removing the (existing) tenants, to the religious teacher (*Kuravar*) Vajra-Nandi of Paruttikuṉṟil. The details of the boundaries of the gift-villages are then given. The inscription also registers the gift of another sixteen and a half *paṭṭis* of land in the village Tāmar as *paḷḷichchandam* to the same teacher Vijra-Nandi. Narabhaya is named as the executor

2. *J.R.A.S.*

3. Alternately, the expression may be taken as comparing him to god Narasiṁhavishṇu, not only in name, but also in valour and prowess.

(*āṇatti*). Finally it closes with an ornate symbol containing the Grantha letter *si* which evidently stands for the auspicious word *siddham*.

The only king known to us bearing the name of Siṁhavishṇu among the Pallavas is the father of Mahēndravarman the author of the several rock-cut shrines in the Tamil country. The Vēlūrpāḷayam plates[4] of Pallava Nandivarman III while narrating the genealogy of the donor has the following verse.

(Verse 10). "Then from the king named Siṁhavarman, who wiped off the pride of (his) enemies, was born the victorious Siṁhavishṇu whose prowess was widely known on earth. He quickly seized the country of the Chōḷas, embellished by the daughter of Kavīra (i.e. the river Kāvērī), whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca (palms)."

This is exactly the description of the donor and his son given in these plates.

The period of rule of Mahēndravarman I is generally placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. His son Narasimhavarman I was the adversary of the Western Chāḷukya ruler, Pulikēśi, whom he defeated in battle and captured his capital Vātāpi. This event took place in *circa* 642 A.D.[5] and his inscription at Vātāpi commemorating this victory is dated in his thirteenth regnal year.[6] As such the reign of Narasimhavarman I should have commenced in *circa* 630 A.D. His father Mahēndravarman I, it may be judged, on a consideration of the large number of rock-cut temples excavated by him and their architectural development, and also of the cultural renaissance which took place in his days, had evidently a long reign, probably over fifty years. We may not therefore be wrong if we take *circa* 575-630 A.D. as the period of his reign. Then the reign of Siṁhavishṇu has to be assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century (550-575) A.D., and that of Siṁhavarman, in whose sixth regnal year the present grant was issued, still earlier. Thus the date of this grant will fall in the second quarter of the sixth century and even allowing for some variations in the lengths of reign of these monarchs,

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 510.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, *Introduction*, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 1.

it may safely be taken as *circa* 550 A.D. in round figure. This is also supported by palaeography.

The earliest inscription so far discovered in the Tamil country, with the exception of the Brāhmī labels in the natural caverns and on the Arikamēḍu graffiti and the Tirunātharkuṉṟu epitaph, belongs to the time of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, and no inscription either on stone or on copper assignable to a period earlier than that time has yet been recovered. Thus this record becomes the earliest inscription so far obtained in the Tamil country.

The palaeography of this grant, of both the Grantha and the Tamil scripts, deserves special and detailed study. Each letter has at its top a small triangle with its apex downwards. Inscriptions written in the script having such triangles at the top of the letter have been found in other parts also. Letters having these triangle are classified as belonging to the 'Nail-headed' variety of script. Inscriptions written in this script are very rare; e.g. the Poona plates[7] of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī Guptā, the Majhgawān plates[8] of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, the Paṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi plates[9] of Avidhēya, Baṁhani plates[10] of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala. All these are from the Deccan and Central India. The recently discovered copper-plate record[11] of Vyāgrarāja, younger brother of Pravarabhaṭṭāraka, king of Śarabhapura from Mallar, in the Bilaspur district of the Madhya Pradesh, also is written in this variety. This 'nail-headed' variety is only a modified form of the 'Box-headed' type. Some of the records, e.g., the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-Guptā, mentioned above, exhibit both these varieties. There are two kinds in the 'box-head': 'true-box' and 'false-box'. The true-box is formed 'by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them'.[12] The 'false-box' is more simple: the sculptor or engraver has removed a sufficiently large square surface at the head of each letter. Both these two types are found in 'nail-headed' variety also. The present grant is the

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.
8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 106 ff., plate XIV.
9. *My. Arch. Report*, 1929, plate XIX facing page 196.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff.
11. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, page 60, plates LXIX and LXX.
12. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18.

first one to be recovered from the Tamil country written in the nail-headed type, both in the Grantha and the Tamil scripts. It exhibits both the 'true' and 'false' types; many of the triangles at the top of each letter, being scooped out in full; while in some others the block of metal within the triangle has been left intact. Considering that the majority of the triangle are scooped out, we may treat this as belonging to the 'false' type. This type of 'false' nail-head is also found in some of the copper-plate grants in the Deccan, e.g. the Pherava grant[13] of Sāmantavarman, king of Kaliṅga in the Gaṅga year 185. The Dadhimati-mātā inscription[14] from Marwar dated in the Gupta Samvat 289, corresponding to A.D. 608, is written in the 'false' nail-head having the triangle fully scooped out. Faint traces of this nail-head are also seen in some of the later inscriptions of the Pallavas, such as those found in the Dharmarāja ratha at Mahabalipuram.[15] It may also be noticed in this connection that the letters in the Kaśākkuḍi plates[16] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, both in the Grantha and Tamil scripts, have at their tops, lines slanting on either side, forming an inverted triangle without the base.

Both the Grantha and the Tamil scripts of this record closely resemble those of the Kūram plates[17] of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I issued in the second half of the 7th century A.D.; but exhibit more archaic forms for some individual letters like *sha* (lines 10, 11) and *ṇa* (lines 9, 24) in the Grantha script, and *ṇa* (lines 39, 52) and *ṟu* (lines 33, 59) in the Tamil script. At the same time the present record has some letters especially in the Tamil script having forms more developed than those found in the Kūram plates. The letter *va,* which is open at the top in the present record, while it appears closed in the Kūram grant, and the symbol for the medial *ai* of the letters *lai* and *ṉai* of the present inscription may be cited as examples of such advanced forms. But it should be noted that these developed forms though not found in the Kūram plates are found in other inscriptions of the period. The letter *va,* with the open top, looking more or less like *pa,* which form is much more developed than that of the

13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff.
14. *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, pp. 299 ff.
15. *Ibid.,* Vol. X, pp. 5 ff.
16. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.
17. *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. for text; plates in *ibid.,* Vol. II; also see *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVIII.

present record, is found in the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam inscription[18] of Narasiṁhavarman I as also in the Kuḷdikki inscription[19] of Nandivarman II. Again the letter having the same form as found in this grant is seen in the stone inscription[20] of Paramēśvaravarman II at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot district. Similarly, the alternate symbol for the medial vowel *ai* as in the form of the letter *lai* in line 38 and in the letter *ṉai* in line 50 is found in the Tiruvadi stone inscription above mentioned. It is also to be noted that the symbol for the medial vowel *ū* long, as in the letters *ṇū,* in line 13 and *pū* in line 22 in the Grantha script of this grant, closely resembles that of the Kūram grant. But the Paṉamalai inscription[21] of Rājasiṁha and the Kaśākkuḍi[22] and Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates[23] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla have advanced forms.

In consideration of the above and relying on the archaic forms exhibited in the letters *sha, ṇa, ṟu,* etc., we may safely assign the present record to a period earlier than that of the Kūram grant.

But it should be admitted that the scripts, both the Grantha and the Tamil, employed in writing this record are quite different (and appear much more developed) from the scripts used in writing the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I and his son Narasiṁhavarman I, the victor of Vātāpi, found in the several rock-cut temples of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. For a better understanding of this problem, it is necessary to study them comparatively.

We have already noticed that inscriptions both in the Grantha and Tamil scripts are available in the Tamil country regularly from the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman I. The earliest inscriptions in the Grantha script on stone are those of Mahēndravarman I on the several rock-cut temples excavated by him while

18. *A.R.E.*, for 1932-33, p. 55, text and also plate.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.
20. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 331 for text. Impression has not been published. But specimens have been given by me in my *Paṇdai-Tamiḻ Eḻuttukkaḷ,* (Madras-1938), plate 4, Col. III. English version as *Tamil Palaeography in the South Indian Temple Inscriptions* Vol. III. part II (*Madras Government Oriental Series,* No. CLVII), pp. 1540-1.
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 213. *A. R. E.* 1916.
22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.
23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 120 ff.

that on copper is the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I. It may also be mentioned that in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman, two varieties of the Grantha, one in the ordinary type and the other in the florid or highly ornamental type, are found. So far as the Tamil script is concerned, we have two inscriptions of Mahēndravarman, one at Vallam[24] and the other at Daḷavānūr[25] and one inscription of his son Narasiṁhavarman, the victor of Vātāpi, at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam[26] all the three being one stone, and earlier than the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I on copper referred to above, which also contains a Tamil portion. A perusal of the scripts employed in these records reveals some interesting facts.

Taking up the study of the Grantha script first, leaving out the ornate variety from consideration, we find that even in the ordinary type two varieties of the script are found. The inscriptions of Pallava Mahēndravarman represent both the ordinary and ornate varieties of script used in his time. The ordinary forms are found in the inscriptions at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu,[27] Mahēndravāḍi,[28] Śīyamaṅgalam[29] and Daḷavānūr,[30] while the ornamental type is found in the inscription of the Tiruchirāppaḷḷi rock-cut temple;[31] the forms of the letters used in the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I[32] are interesting.

We know that Mahēndravarman I reigned in the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh centuries A.D. (*circa* 575-630) and that the Kūram grant was issued by Paramēśvaravarman I in *circa* 675 A.D. Thus the difference in time between these two is only about fifty years.

A comparison of these letters will show that the forms of letters in the Kūram plates are much more developed and they could not have been evolved from the forms used in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I in this short period of fifty years.

24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 341.
25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 225.
26. *A.R.E.*, 1932-33, p. 55.
27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. II.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI.
30. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII.
31. *S.I.I.*, text in Vol. I and plate in Vol. II.
32. *S.I.I.*, text in Vol. I and plate in Vol. II; also *E.I.*, XVII.

These rather appear to belong to an enitrely different variety, though both of them are related. This impression is strengthened by the forms of the vowel *e* and the consonants *ja, ṇa, ba, bha, śa* and *ea*.

But it is also to be noted that some of the forms found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman are found used even later than the time of the Kūram plates, more especially in the Kaśākkuḍi plates[33] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

Particularly we find the shell shaped form of the vowel *e*, the letter *ṇa* in the form of two horse-shoes placed side by side and joined at the bottom, *śa* without the loop, but with a cross-bar at the right as also the letter *sa* without the hook at the left.

The shell-shaped form for the vowel *e* is also found in the music inscription at Kuḍumiyāmalai. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same in the *Ep. Ind.*[34] observes: "The characters seem to belong to the 7th century. They clearly resemble those of the early Chāḷukya period. In particular, it may be noted that the letter *e*, as in Pallava inscriptions of this period, is almost identical with *ba*."[35] There is also one other Chāḷukyan resemblance in the inscription not referred to by him. The letter *na* is written with a loop at the bottom; only it is not so pronounced. This peculiarity is also noticed in some of the Pallava inscriptions of the ornate variety, e.g. the Paṉamalai inscription of Rājasimha. The usual form for *na* in the Pallava records is a vertical line with a semi-circle facing down to its right at the bottom. It is this form we notice in the short label[36] *namōstu* at Tiruchirāppaḷḷi assignable to the 5th century A.D. But in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman this is nowhere found. Sometimes the vertical line is found at the apex of the curve or otherwise the vertical line is slanting to the left with another arm standing to right at the bottom instead of a semi-circle.

The difference in the doubling of the vertical lines of *ka* and *ra* between the scripts of Mahēndravarman's record and the

33. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II.
34. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 227.
35. Dr. C. Minakshi writes: "I fail to see why Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the characters are Chalukyan" (*Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 245. fn. 30). But the discussion here will show that Dr. Bhandarkar was right.
36. *A. R. E.*, No. 132 of 1937-38.

Kūram grant has to be noted. In the former the doubling is only for the lower half just as in the Telugu-Kannada scripts while it is for the entire letter in the Kūram grant. In the Telugu-Kannada script the doubling of the vertical line was not completed, but joined later on to the vertical at the middle itself. Similarity of the letters in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman to those of the Telugu-Kannada script of the period is more pronounced in the letter *a*. The Kūram form could not have been derived from the other. The form of the vowel *A* in the label[37] *amithadōsam* at Tiruchirāppaḷḷi is very much like that of the Kūram grant with the vertical stroke almost doubled.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the symbols for the Tamil letters *ṟa* and *ḻa* found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman at Tiruchirāppaḷḷi are those of the Telugu-Kannada script and not Tamil. It is usual in the inscriptions of the Tamil country to employ the Tamiḻ characters for writting these two letters wherever they occur in the Sanskrit portion of the grant written in the Grantha script. Even in the Viḻavaṭṭi grant[38] of the Early Pallava ruler Siṁhavarman the place name of Viḻavaṭṭi is written with the Tamil character for *ḻa*. Thus the use of the Telugu-Kannada script for these two letters in the Tiruchirāppaḷḷi inscriptions of Mahēndravarman is peculiar and can be explained only by taking that the script of his records is Telugu-Kannada and not the Grantha of the Tamil country as seen in the Kūram grant.

The study of the early Tamil records also does not reveal a different tale. Of the two Tamil inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I at Vallam and Daḷavānūr, the latter is considered as not belonging to the time of Mahēndravarman, and palaeographically late.[39] The Tamil verse incised on one of the pillars in the inner verandah is a translation of the Sanskrit verse incised on the face of the cave-temple. The very fact that the Tamil record is a translation of the Sanskrit record would suggest that both of them belong to the same period. If the Tamil record has been really incised some two centuries later than the Sanskrit record, then it would not have been the translation of a Sanskrit verse

37. *A. R. E.*, No. 137 of 1937-38.
38. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 296 ff.
39. Dr. Hultzsch who edited this record in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 225, simply says that it should be later, while V. Venkatasubba Ayyar in the *S.I.I.* (Texts) Vol. XII, No. 11 assigns this Tamil record to the 9th century A.D.

composed and written on the temple some two centuries earlier, but a new composition. We cannot also cite a similar example from anywhere else in the country. The later date has been assigned to the Tamil record for the only reason that the script employed in writing that record did not conform to the script of the Vallam record. But we do not have very many records of the early period for comparison. And this would not be anachronistic if the script of this inscription is compared with that of the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam record of his son Narasiṁhavarman, the victor of Vātāpi. Even for the sake of argument, if the Daḷavānūr record is left out of consideration, the script employed in the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam stone record and the Kūram grant are highly developed than that of the Vallam record. This becomes very clear and pronounced in the letters *a, va, ṉa, tu,* etc. The letter *va* which is found bulbous like a pear or apple fruit at Vallam is of the open type very much like the modern form (and with very little difference to the form of *pa*). The closed type of Vallam is found to have continued even upto the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as this form is found in his Kaśākkuḍi and the recently found Pullūr plates.[40] Similarly, the form of the letter *ṇa* of the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam record resembles that of the Kūram record, in the Grantha as well as the Tamil script, while that of the Vallam record closely resembles that of the Telugu-Kannada type used in the other Sanskrit inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I. The letter *a* in the Tamil portion of the Kūram grant resembles the same in the Grantha portion, the only difference being that the vertical stroke is single and not doubled. The symbol for the medial vowel *ū* in the letter *tū* of the Vallam record is in the form of a semi-circle opening upwards, added to the bottom of the letter. But in the other records, the form of the letter has reached almost the modern shape. This form found in the Daḷavānūr inscription was probably the factor that influenced the editor to assign a later date to that record.

Thus it will be seen that the script of the Vallam Tamil inscription closely follows the Telugu-Kannada type of the Grantha, while the script of the Daḷavānūr Tamil inscription as well as that of the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam inscription and the Kūram plates follows the Grantha variety developed in the Tamil coun-

40. Dr. T. V. Mahaliṅgam who is editing this record for the *Ep. Ind.* kindly allowed me to peruse the ink-impression of the record.

try. The fact that Telugu forms even in the language, e.g. *Mayēndirappōttareśaru-aḍiyāṉ* (line 3) and *Vayandappiri-areśaru-magaṉ* (line 4) occur in the Vallam record will go a long way in support of the above view.

It will thus be seen that in the early inscriptions of the Pallavas in the Tamil country in the 7th century A.D. two varieties of script, one more or less Telugu-Kannada in origin and the other the Grantha, developed in the Tamil country, were in use for writing the Sanskrit. The independent evolution traced in some of the typical letters in the Grantha script, which form has continued to this day in the Tamil country, would suggest that it was developed in this part of the country. The Telugu-Kannada script which is found in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman appears to have continued for sometime, till the time of Pallavamalla, and that too mostly for writing the ornate script, after which it appears to have disappeared or become merged in the Grantha variety. The presence of the Telugu-Kannada script in the Tamil country at that early period as distinct and in addition to the Grantha script needs an explanation. It is well known that Mahēndravarman introduced many innovations in the Tamil country, among which the excavation of rock-cut temples stands out pre-eminent. Some of his titles like *Kūṟṟambu, Nilvule Neyambu, piśiṟambu,* etc., clearly betray Telugu influence. The Telugu-Kannada script was also probably introduced by him in the Tamil country. (But this had to disappear later).

It will thus be not proper, but futile, to compare palaeographically the scripts both the Grantha and the Tamil of the present record as also of the Kūram plates, with those of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I and his immediate successors which are in the Telugu-Kannada script or strongly influenced by that script. As already pointed out, this record is paleographically earlier than the Kūram plates and the date *circa* 550 A.D. assigned to the same is thus supported.

Another possible objection which can be raised against the assigning of such an early date to this grant is the mention in the record of the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas. It is generally considered[41] that such genealogies containing the names

41. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Part II, p. 342.

of *puranic* celebrities as ancestors are late inventions in the tenth and eleventh cenutries of the Christian era. But we find such genealogies even in the earlier grants. In this connection, a verse occurring in a stone inscription dated Saka 797 or A.D. 875 of King Indravarman of Champa from Dong Duong, a village about 12 miles from Mi-son in the province of Quang-Nam in Annam State of the Indo-China[42] is worth consideration.

Kvachid-api Valabhij-jō Brahma-jō Vishṇujaścha
Kvachid-api Bhujag-ēndraś-Śaṅkaraś-cha kvachid vā |
Kvachid-api Ravi-Chandrō-'Pāmpatir-Vahni-rūpaḥ
Kvachid=Abhayada bimbas satva-mōkshād babhūva ||
(verse 7—of face B)

"In some places those born of Indra, Brahma and Vishṇu, in some places of the Kings of Serpents, in some places Śaṅkara (or Śiva), in some places ascetics (ṛishis), sun, moon, Varuṇa and Agni (Fire), and in some places image of Abhayada (Buddha) appeared for the deliverance of creatures".

It will be clear from the above that various types of mythical genealogies of different royal families, each claiming direct descent from some illustrious person of *purāṇic* fame, had been fully evolved and not only well established but also firmly believed as a fact by that time even in those far off lands removed by thousands of miles by land and sea from India. So far as the Pallavas are concerned, this mythical genealogy is found mentioned even in the Kūram plates[43] of Paramēśvaravarman I, the earliest of the copper-plate grants hitherto recovered in the Tamil country. Again, this is mentioned in the inscriptions of his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman II surnamed Rājasiṁha, at Paṉamalai,[44] in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram,[45] and on the pillar in the temple at Vāyalūr.[46] Inscriptions earlier than

42. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient, Tome IV;* also *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East,* Vol. I *Champa* by R. C. Majumdar, Book III, The inscriptions of Champa No. 31. The previous editors do not appear to have correctly understood the import of this verse. At least it can be said so of Dr. Majumdar as he adds in a foot note "The letter *ja* at the end of Brahma, Vishṇu and Valabhit would mean their sons, but that does not seem to be the sense" (p. 86).

43. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144 ff.

44. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 113-114.

45. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I.

46. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 150-151.

the above have not been recovered as yet. As such we cannot say when the mythical genealogy was framed. The present copper-plate grant is only about a century earlier than the Kūram plates. It is very likely that the mythical genealogy was drawn up even earlier[47] and the objection cannot be passed any further.

The style in which the present record is drawn up also deserves notice. All the early inscriptions of the Pallavas known so far have been recovered from the Telugu country and all of them with the exception of the Mañchikallu epigraph[48] of Siṁhavarman, are copper-plates. These are all written either in the Prākrit or the Sanskrit language and do not have their counter-parts in any other local language like the Tamil or Telugu. They generally begin with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *maṅgaḷa*: *Jitam Bhagavatā* 'Victorious is the Lord'. Then the place from which the grant was issued is mentioned. Then the Pallava family to which the donor belongs, is introduced as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and then three generations of the ancestors of the donor are given in set terms. This is followed by the details of the grant and end with the usual imprecatory verses. Generally the major portion of the record is in prose. We find this form continued even by the members of the Siṁhavishṇu line in their grants issued in the Telugu area of their dominion. The Vunna

47. It may be mentioned here that some of the mythical stories giving the origins of royal families are alluded to or referred to in certain Tamil verses included in the anthologies forming the Śaṅgam classics. The story of the mythical origin of the Chāḷukyas that they were born from the *Chuluka* (the hollow in the palm of the hand when holding water for the ablutions) of god Brahmā or a ṛishi (sage) (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 203) is referred to in a verse in the *Puṟa-nāṉūṟu* (No. 201) where a certain Iruṅkōvēḷ is said to have sprung from the *taḍavu* of the sage from the north (*vaḍapāṉ muṉivaṉ taḍaviṉuḷ tōṉri*). Similarly the same chief is called in the poem as well as in the succeeding one (No. 202) as *Puli-kaḍimāal*, i.e. the lord who had chastised the tiger, which will recall to our mind the story of the origin of the Hoyśaḷas, wherein a sage is said to have ordered Śaḷa, the progenitor of the family, to slay a tiger, as a consequence of which action the name of Hoyśaḷa was applied to him and that his descendants adopted that name, found mentioned in many Hoyśaḷa inscriptions. The expression *pātra-skhalita-vṛittīnām* belonging to the family of those that flowed out of the vessel used in describing the donor king in the legend on the seal, is also worth considering in this connection.

48. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

Guravapālem plates[49] dated in the 19th regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I, the donor of the Kūram grant, and the Rēyūṟu grant[50] of his son Narasiṁhavarman II belong to this variety. It may even be said that a skeleton draft in a set form was used in drawing up these records with the change of names to suit the occasion. But in the case of the copper-plate grants recovered from the Tamil country, it appears that the Sanskrit portion of the records was composed on each occasion afresh. This will become clear by a comparison of the Sanskrit portions of the Kaśākkuḍi,[51] Udayēndiram,[52] Taṇḍantōṭṭam[53] and Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam[54] plates, all of them belonging to the same king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Each of them is different; even the God invoked at the beginning of each record is not the same. Invariably these are elaborate *praśastis* containing an invocation, and a legendary account of the family coming down to the donor, and also contain details of the grant and the usual imprecation; each is complete in itself. The Tamil portion that generally follows the Sanskrit one is the crisp official document in precise legal terms and official language, also complete in itself.

Similar difference is also seen in the royal seals attached to the grants of these two types. In the charter of the early Pallavas the seal contained in addition to the emblem of bull, a legend in a single line mentioning the name of the king who issued the charter. The Prākṛit grants have this legend; but some of the early Sanskrit charters do not have this legend even. The Vunna Guravapālem and the Rēyūṟu plates, referred to above, also have seals of this type. The seal of the Vunna Guruvapālem plates of Paramēśvaravarman I is described by the editor in the following words. "The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a recumbent bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *liṅga* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by the crude representation of what looks like a deity seated on

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 91 ff.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97.
51. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 361 ff.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 517 ff.
54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 115 ff.

a throne. Below the bull, there is a legend which appears to read *Śrī-ṇadī* apparently standing for *Śrī-Ṇandī*."[55] The seal of the Kūram grant of the same king is described by Dr. Hultzsch as follows: "The seal is about 2½ inches in diameter and bears a bull which is seated on a pedestal, faces the left and is surmounted by the moon and a *liṅga*—Further up, there are a few much obliterated syllables. A legend of many letters passes round the whole seal. Unfortunately it is so much worn that I have failed to decipher it."[56] The legend running round the seal of the Kūram plates is absent in the seal of the Vunna Guravapālem grant. But such a legend is found in the seals of all the copper-plate grants obtained from the Tamil country. A comparison of the seal of the present record with that of the Kūram plates will show that most of the details of both of them with the exception of the legend are identical.

These differences in the contents of the copper-plate grants of the Pallavas obtained in the Tamil and Telugu countries were probably due to the difference in the administrative set-up of the respective areas. In the earlier Prākṛit grants like the Mayidavōlu[57] and Hīragaḍahalli[58] plates, we find the royal orders intimating the grants were addresed to the provincial governors and other officers of the state. In the later Sanskrit charters this is generally absent. But the Tamil portions of such records found in the Tamil country give out the royal orders as addressed to the local assembly of the division, *nāḍu*, intimating them of the gift made by the king and asking them to give effect to it by delimiting the area of the gift-land, fixing boundary stones and milk-bush and issuing the order of proclamation. The final order of the grant is engraved on copper only after these formalities are completed and with informations furnished by the local assembly. The present record also appears to have been drawn up likewise. Evidently the administration in the Tamil country was decentralised and the local assemblies were functioning effectively with more powers even at that early period.

The grant contains a glowing eulogy of Siṁhavishṇu. But he was only a crown prince at the time when the grant was issued and

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.
56. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144; Plate in *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pl. VII.
57. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 84.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

his father Simhavarman, in the sixth year of whose reign it was issued, was in the throne then. It is very unusual to find the military exploits of a heir-apparent described in an inscription of his father. Very likely, the father was old exercising only the nominal authority of the ruler and the son, in the prime of his life, was the real person and the driving force in running the administration of the kingdom. Probably it was the son who actually made the grant as can be inferred from the wording of the grant. That this should have been the position is also borne out by the Hosakōṭe plates[59] dated in the twelfth regnal year of the Western Gaṅga king Avinīta, registering the gift of some lands to the *Yāvanika saṁgha* of the Jainas, for the temple of God *Arhat* constructed by the mother of the Pallava prince Siṁhavishṇu, for the glory of her husband's family and for the increase of her merit (*bhartṛi-kula kīrtti jananyārtthañcha ātmanaścha dharma pravarddhanārtthañcha*). It describes Siṁhavishṇu as "the Pallavādhirāja engaged in ruling (his subjects) skilled in all counsel and statecraft and possessed of intellect purified by being washed in the water of the different *Āgamas*" (*śāsanādhi-kṛitasya sakala-mantra-tantrāntarggatasya vividāgama jala prakshāḷita viśuddha buddhēh Siṁhavishṇu Pallavādhirājasya jananyā*).[60] The grant does not give the name of either of the Pallava queen who constructed the temple and made the endowment or of her husband, the Pallava king, for the glory of whose family the land was endowed, but only mentions the name of the prince, their son, who then was conducting the affairs of the kingdom.

One would be tempted, on a consideration of these two records, to conclude that Siṁhavishṇu was a devout Jaina in religion. But in the Udayēndiraṁ plates[61] of Nandivarman, he is mentioned as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu (*bhaktyārādhita Vishṇu Siṁhavishṇu*).

Similarly his father Siṁhavarman appears to have been a devout worshipper of Śiva. In the *Tiru-t-toṇḍa-t-tokai*, a hymn of ten verses sung by Saint Sundara in the temple of Tiruvārūr, making obeisance to all devotees of Śiva, both past and contemporary with him, we find the names of two Pallava kings included. They are Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn and Kaḻar-chiṅgan. The latter Kaḻar-chiṅgaṉ i.e. 'Simha with the hero's anklets', was a contemporary of Sun-

59. *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1938.
60. *Ibid.*, lines, 22, 23.
61. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 366, line 12.

dara as he is referred to in the hymn[62] as the lord 'who is protecting the whole world surrounded by the ocean' (*kaḍal-śūḻnda ulagelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ kāḍavarkōṉ Kaḻaṟ chiṅgar*). This king has been identified with Narasimhavarman II surnamed Rājasimha by some scholars[63] and with a later king of the Pallavamalla line by some others.[64] The other king Aiyaḍigaḷ was a past ruler at the time. The *Periyapurāṇam* which gives in detail the life-histories of all the saints mentioned in the *Tiṟu-t-toṇḍa-t-tokai* narrates the life history of this saint as follows: "He belonged to the Kāḍava royal family and was king of Kāñchī. He conquerred other countries and brought them under his rule. He was well read and a scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil and an ardent devotee of Śiva. After some years of rule he found the kingly life a burden, bestowed the kingdom on his son and began visiting places sacred to Śiva in his country. At each place he visited he composed one verse in the *veṇbā* metre in praise of God Śiva. He spent his latter days this way and doing repairs to temples and attained heaven at the end". The verses composed by him or those available among them have been collected and included in the eleventh book of the *Tirumuṟai* under the title *Kshetra-t-tiruveṇbā*. The present collection contains only twenty-four stanzas among which we find the lord Śiva presiding in the temples in many places situated in the Kāvērī delta, the traditional Chōḷa country, like the Kuḍantai-k-kiḻkkōṭṭam (i.e. the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakoṇam) (verse 2), Kuttālam (v. 5), Tiruppaṉandāḷ (v. 21), Tiruvārūr (v. 4), Kuḷittaṇḍalam (i.e. the modern Kulittalai in the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi district, (v. 9), and others. This would indicate that the Chōḷa country was, in the days of Aiyaḍigaḷ, included in the Pallava dominion. We know that Simhavishṇu was the first Pallava monarch to have captured the Chōḷa country of the Kāvērī delta and annexed it to his kingdom. As such, Aiyaḍigaḷ should have been a Pallava monarch who ruled at Kāñchī for some time after the Pallava conquest of the Chōḷa country and a predecessor of Kaḷaṟ-chiṅgaṉ who was a contemporary of Sundara, the composer of *Tiruttoṇḍattokai*. According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, he is also known to have abdicated the kingdom in favour of his son and led a devotee's life thereafter.

62. Verse 9.
63. M. Raghava Aiyangār: *Āḻvārgaḷ Kālanilai* (Tamiḷ) (I Edn.), pp. 135-6.
64. C. Minakshi: *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, pp. 300-305.

There are also works in Sanskrit and Kannada dealing with the life stories of these sixty-three Śaiva saints. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, has elaborately discussed these works in his *Annual Report* for the year 1925 (pp. 5-13). "The *Skāndapurāṇa* or *Skāndōpapurāṇa* the *Śivarahasya* and the *Śivabhaktamāhātmya* are the three most important Sanskrit works which narrate the stories of the Śaivite devotees in the Purāṇic style. In Tamil the *Periyapurāṇam* is said to be the most important. There are a number of works in Kannada some in prose and a few in verse, dealing with the same subject. The most important among them are the *Aravatta mūvarapurātana charite* in prose the *Trishashṭhi-purātana charite* in prose and verse by Karnāṭaka Kavichakravarti, the *Aravattumūru purātana śaraṇara charite* by Virūpāksha Kavi and the *Trishashṭhi purātana vidhi.* In the Kannada works the devotees are all designated by their Tamil names, while in Sanskrit their names are Sanskritised in almost all cases and can only be identified with the Tamil names after considering the stories applicable to them" (p. 5). Regarding *Aiyaḍigaḷ,* he gives the following summary "Aiyaḍigaḷ or Kādavarkōnāyanār was a king of the Pallava dynasty ruling in Kāñchī. He is variously called Siṁhāṅka, Padasimha, and Pañchapada Simha, whose father (rather son, according to inscriptions of the Pallavas) was Bhīma or Bhīmavarman. He spent the whole revenue of his vast kingdom in constructing Śiva temples, groves, wells, tanks, and feeding houses" (p. 9). Again, "Pañchapada Simha or Simhāṅka as he is also called is said to have built a number of Śiva temples. His father Bhīma is said to have dedicated his life to the service of Śiva and retired from his kingdom early in life, installing Simhāṅka on the throne" (p. 11). It will be seen that according to the above accounts, Simha or Aiyaḍigaḷ was the son of Bhīmavarman and that the latter retired from his kingdom early in his life entrusting the same to his son. This reverses the order found in the *Periyapurāṇam* which we know is the authentic account of the tradition in the Tamil country and the historical facts known to its author Śēkkiḷār. It is also known from the Udayēndiram plates[65] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, that Siṁhavarman, the father of Siṁhavishṇu, had another son Bhīmavarman whose descendant, sixth in line, was the donor Pallavamalla. We may therefore take that Siṁhavarman the father of Siṁhavishṇu and Bhīmavarman

65. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II.

was the person denoted in the above accounts as Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn̲.

Of his name Aiyaḍigaḷ, the suffix *aḍigaḷ* is only a honorafic title and his name is Ai. This word *ai* means five, beauty, lord, master, etc. and also a lion (*simha*).[66]

This was evidently caused by a mistranslation of the Sanskrit word *pañchānana* literally 'broad-faced' indicating a lion as *aimuka* in Tamil taking the word *pañcha* in the sense of five. There are many such instances of mistranslations. The expression *pañcha pada* in the name found in Sanskrit is a literal translation of the Tamil expression (*ai-y-aḍigaḷ*). The name Simha added by the translators and the meaning of a lion (*simha*) for the Tamil word *ai* would indicate that the Pallava king was named Siṁhavarman. So far as we know the only king among the Pallavas at that period *i.e.* after the conquest of the Kāvērī delta, who had the name Siṁhavarman and who entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his son even during his lifetime, was the donor of the present grant.

It is also to be noted that we cannot decide the religion of any monarch merely relying on the denomination of the particular religious faith to which he makes a grant. It is just possible that the mother of Siṁhavishṇu, who constructed a temple for Arhat God in the Gaṅga dominion was a devout follower of the faith to which religion the son made the grant under reference at the instance of his mother.

This being the earliest grant from the Tamil country and also the earliest Tamil record, the orthographical and other peculiarities deserve consideration. Unlike the Kūram grant which is written in a free and running hand, the present record is written in a decorative script which may be described as a sort of monumental variety. In the Sanskrit portion the doubling of the consonants after the *rēpha* usually found in the inscriptions from this part of the country occurs also in this record eg. *Svarggāpava*[*r*]*gga* in the opening line and *varmma* in line 10. The symbol for the medial vowel *ṛi* is distinguished from the conjunct consonant *ra*, cf. *nṛipa* in line 9 and *dhṛishṇū* in line 13. The *anusvāras* are usually written in the form of a dot or small circle[67] in their proper

66. *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v. *ai*

67. The *anusvāra* in the word *aṁbuja* in line 3 is neither a dot nor a circle but resembles very much the *rēpha*.

places of occurrence in line with other letters and only rarely above the line in which case they are placed on the top of the succeeding letters cf. *Siṁhavarmma* in line 10 and *Siṁhavishṇu* in line 11. Occasionally the dots are placed above the letters between the preceeding and succeeding letter, cf. *paṁka* in line 10 and *vaṁśa* in line 12.

In the Tamil portion *puḷḷi* which looks more or less as a small vertical stroke, is marked on the top of all pure consonants, even though there are lapses here and there, but not on the *e* and *o* short as required by the rules of Tamil grammar.[68] It may also be noted that the letters *ṃu, mū* (in line 43) and *ḻu* (line 34) are clearly distinguished. The language is chaste and crisp. The peculiar forms of the words *viḍutaka* in line 33 and *viḍunta* in line 35 deserve notice. These are common in the records of the period. The word *viḍutaka* occurs in the Bāhūr plates[69] of Nṛipatuṅgavarman where the editor has corrected it as *viḍukka*. Similarly the other word *viḍunta* is also corrected as *viḍutta*. The corrections though not altering the meaning are unwarranted. These inscriptional words correctly portray the forms in which they were current in those days. The superfluous *y* suffixed to words ending with *ē* long (e.g. the word *appoḷudēy* in line of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant[70] of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, the word *mēlēy* in the Tiruveḷḷaṟai inscription[71] dated in the 6th regnal year of Dantivarman, *dharmmāsanattēy* in an inscription of the 2nd regnal year of Kampavarman from Poṟpandal in the Kāñchīpuram taluk)[72] found in the early medieval records is absent in this record. So also the words *Koḍuttōm, Koḍutta*, etc. are found in their correct forms in this record instead of the forms *Kuḍuttōm* and the like commonly found in many other records. A comparison of the Tamil portion of the present record with similar portion in the other records of the Pallavas will be an interesting study of the evolution and growth of the form in which the documents of such gift deeds were drafted. The present record being the earliest is couched in a concise and crisp form.

68. *Tolkāppiyam, Eluttadhikāram, sūtra* 16.
69. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 5 ff.
70. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.
71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 48.
72. *Ibid.*, No. 97.

The grant describes Siṁhavishṇu as having adorned the *Bhrāji* family. We do not know if the Pallavas had at any time described themselves as belonging to the *Bhṛāji* family and we do not also know otherwise of any royal family having this name. The *pāda* of the verse is short of one sullable here and considering the alliteration of the verse it has to be restored as *Bhrājishṇu vaṁśa*. The word *Bhrājishṇu* means radiant and also indicates gods Śiva and Vishṇu. If the meaning of radiant is adopted then the expression *Bhrājishṇu vaṁśa svam-alaṁkarishṇu* would mean 'he who adormed by his person the radiant family.' This is rather improbable and will not suit the context. It can be taken only as indicating the particular family to which he belonged.

Then the word *Bhrājishṇu* will only indicate either Śiva or Vishṇu. The Pallavas claim themselves as the descendants of Brahmā who was himself born of the lotus emanated from the navel of Vishṇu. Thus the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas wherever found commences with Vishṇu. Even the sculptural representation of the ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla figuring on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram[73] begins with Vishṇu as the first figure. But nowhere do we find the Pallavas claiming themselves as belonging to the Vishṇuvaṁśa. They are described as belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and sometimes as belonging to the *Brahma-kshatriya Kula*.[74] (It may be noted in this connection that the mythical genealogies of some other royal families, like the Pāṇḍyas, the Chāḷukyas, and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, also commence from Vishṇu). On the other hand there are many references to the claim of the Pallavas that they belonged to the lineage of Śiva. The inscriptions of the late Pallava chiefs make a certain Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi or Trinayana Pallava as the progenitor of the family.[75] Trinayana is an appellation of Śiva with whom this Pallava, also said to be the possessor of the third eye, is sometimes connected.[76] The records of the Noḷamba-Pallavas[77] definitely state that they belonged to the Īśvara-vaṁśa

73. C. Minakshi: *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ Temple, Kāñchī*, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 63).
74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 48.
75. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōḷa*, Appendix C, p. 110.
76. *A. R. E.*, 1908, Part II, para. 72. The inscription No. 580 of 1907 from Nandalūr of the time of Manuma-siddhi of the twelfth century actually trace Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi to the third eye of Śiva.
77. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XII, Si. 28.

which descended from Trinayana, the Pallava king of Kāñchī. But it is also very doubtful whether a similar tradition existed at such an early date, so as to connect the mention of *Bhrājishṇuvaṁśa* in our record with that tradition.

The prince Siṁhavishṇu is described as *Jita-Siṁhaviṣṇu* which expression may be taken as comparing him to god Vishṇu in his *avatār* as Narasimha or alternately as having conquered another king bearing the same name Siṁhavishṇu. Very likely the latter is intended here. The only other king bearing the name Siṁhavishṇu, we know of in those days, was a Telugu Chōḷa. The Mālēpāḍu plates[78] of Puṇyakumāra state that Nandivarman the grandfather of the donor had three sons. Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjaya and that each of them became ruler of a separate kingdom. (*tē putr-ānuputry-ānubhūta rājya-śriyaḥ*).[79] The descendants of Sundarananda and Dhanañjyavarman are known to us. Śrī-Kaṇṭha-Chōḷādhirāja, the donor of the Madras Museum plates,[80] was a descendant of Sundarananda. Dhanañjayavarman, the last of the three brothers, according to the Mēlēpāḍu plates, had a son Mahēndravikravarman "who acquired the title Chōḷa Mahārāja (*pari-prāpta-chōḷa-mahāraja śabdaḥ*) had also the surnames *Muditaśilākshara* (one who delighted in stone script, i.e. in inscription), *Navarāma*, etc. His son was king Guṇamudita, and the latter's brother was the king Śrī Puṇyakumāra, the donor of the grant. Puṇyakumāra had the title *Pōrmukharāma, Purushasārdūla, Mārdavachitta, Madanavilāsa*, etc. But of Siṁhavishṇu, the eldest of the three sons of Nandivarman, we do not have any other information than the statement in the inscriptions that he was also ruling over a kingdom. The titles *Mārdavachitta* and *Madanavilāsa* of Puṇyakumāra "indicate some apparent affinity to *Mattavilāsa* and *Vichitrachitta* of Pallava *Mahēndravarman.*" Paleographically also the record may be assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D. Then Siṁhavishṇu the Telugu Chōḷa ruler would become the contemporary of his Pallava namesake. Very likely the Chōḷa ruler Nandivarman was a contemporary of the Pallava king having the same name who was the predecessor of

78. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 337 ff.

79. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 249. The Dommara-Nandyala plates of the same king Puṇyakumāra (*ibid.*, p. 274) read here as *tēshām-ānupūrv-ānubhūta-rajya-śriyam* "who (the three sons) enjoyed in succession the fortunes of (their) kingdom".

80. *Jl. Ind. History*, Vol. XV.

Siṁhavarman, the donor of the present grant.[81] It is possible that the other Siṁhavishṇu conquered by the Pallava was the Chōḷa mentioned above.

Pallava Siṁhavishṇu is also said to have conquered the Chōḷa country, rich in rice fields and watered by the river Kāvērī. The adversary from whom he captured that territory has not been clearly mentioned anywhere. Mahēndravarman I appears to have inherited that territory from his father, as he has excavated a rock-cut temple for Śiva at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and does not claim any victory over the region. It is also significant that the description of the Chōḷa country of the Kāvērī region given in his inscription[82] at the rock-cut temple echoes that found in the present grant.

This is perhaps the earliest and the only grant either on stone or on copper-plate registering an endowment to the Jaina temple or monastery by the Pallava monarchs either in the Tamil country or in the Telugu area under their rule. From a study of the clasical Tamil literature we learn that Jainism had taken deep root in the Tamilnāḍu even in those days. A fairly large section of the population seems to have been attracted to that faith which had made considerable progress in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era having, evidently, received the patronage of royal houses. The sponsors of the *bhakti* cult in reviving the Śaiva and Vaishṇava faiths had to contend hard with the heretical sects like those of the Buddhists, Jainas. Ājīvakas and others, among whom the followers of the Jaina faith, temples and monasteries of which were spread all over the Tamil country, were probably predominant.

The *Lōkavibhāga,*[83] a Digambara work in Sanskrit on the Jaina cosmography, says in its preamble that the work was copied by Sarvanandi in the village of Pāṭalikā in the Pānarāshṭra, identifiable with the modern Tiruppādiripuliyūr (Cuddalore N. T.) in the South Arcot district in the Śaka year 380, (equivalent to 458 A.D.) corresponding to the twenty-second regnal year of Siṁhavarman, King of Kāñchī.

Endowments of lands and even of entire villages would certainly have been made to these institutions, though none of the

81. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 249.
82. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 33, 34.
83. *My. Arch. Rep.*, 1909-10, p. 45,

grants recording such gifts has been recovered so far. But that such endowments were under the enjoyment of the Jainas of those days is confirmed by the statement found in later day records. A solitary instance of a private individual giving some lands to the Jaina temple at Veḍāl in the North Arcot district is found in a fragmentary record[84] dated in the 14th regnal year of Nandivarman, probably Pallavamalla, found at that place. The Udayēndiram plates[85] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla state that the king gave away the land specified therein after "having expropriated the lands of others whose observances were not in accordance with the *dharma*" (*anyān-adha*[*r**]*mmā-kṛityān-vināśya bhūmin-tatta-vān*). That the members of the different faith mentioned there referred only to the Jainas will become clear from another copper-plate grant[86] of a later date obtained from the same place, i.e. the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithivīpati II, registering the gift of the neighbouring village Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr as a *brahmadēya* after excluding the two *paṭṭis* called *Vidyādharīpaṭṭi* and *Dēvapaṭṭi* which are mentioned in the copper-plate inscription as "*paḷḷichchandam* of old" (*paḻam-paḷḷichchandam*) and "had been formerly enjoyed by the Digambaras and were known to have been formerly belonged to the *kshapaṇakas*".

It is generally believed that the term *paḷḷichchandam* by which land-endowments made to non-Hindu temples are designated is first met with in epigraphy only in the ninth century A.D. [87] An undated inscription[88] found on a boulder at Tēṉimalai, also known as Tēṉūrmalai, in the Tirumayyam taluk of the former Pudukottai State, records that Irukkuvēḷ, a member of the family of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs paid his respects to a certain Malayadhvajaṉ performing penance there and endowed some lands as *paḷḷichchandam*. We do not know which of the Irukkuvēḷ chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr made this endowment. But from a study of the palaeography the record has been assigned to the eighth century,[89] and

84. *A. R. E.*, No. 82 of 1908.

85. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 368, line 75. Thomas Foulkes who edited the record in the *Ind. Ant.*, (Vol. VIII, p. 281) has translated this expression as "having destroyed (all) persons whose observances were not in accordance with the law of Dharma".

86. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 384-6; lines 97-98 and also verses 27 and 28.

87. P.B. Desai: *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 79.

88. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 9.

89. *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 83.

this is definitely earlier than the other datable references to *paḷḷi-chchandam*. The earliest datable reference to this term is found in a record of Kampavarman from Kīḻputtūr in the Kāñchīpuram taluk of the Chingleput district.[90]. The present record which is about four centuries earlier than the time of Kampavarman registers a gift as *paḷḷichchandam* and this becomes the earliest of the records referring to it, attesting at the same time that *paḷḷichchandam* had been in existence even then.

Even though we are aware what the term *paḷḷichchandam* signifies the derivation of the term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. One recent writer explains the word as follows: "Leaving out of consideration for the moment its Buddhist associations which are neither numerous nor so frequent, the word *Paḷḷi* signifies a Jaina temple or monastery or academy; and *chandam* must be a simplified form of 'chontam' which is derived from Sanskrit *svatantram* meaning 'one's own'. So *Paḷḷichchandam* means 'whatever is owned exclusively' by the Jaina religious institution of the above description, a land, village, etc.[91] The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri tried to derive *chandam* from Sanskrit *sat*.[92] Both the derivations for *chandam* are very doubtful and not satisfactory. The Tamil word *chandam* which is probably related to the Sanskrit word *chhanda* has, according to the *Piṅgaḷantai nighaṇṭu*, the meaning 'pleasure' (*sukha*)[93] which also connotes enjoyment. Thus the term *paḷḷichchandam* will mean "that which is for the enjoyment of the *paḷḷi*.'

The inscription registers the grant as *paḷḷichchandam* of all the land enclosed by the four great boundaries (*peru-nāṅgellai*) specified therein, including the wet-land (*nīr-nilam*), dry-land (*puṉ-śey*), brackish land i.e. the saline soil (*kaḷar*), waste land where the calves graze (*kaṉṟu-mēy-pāḻ*) i.e. the pasture ground, forests (*kāḍu*), *pīḍilikai*, ditches (*kiḍaṅgu*), wells (*kēṇi*), houses (*maṉai*), house-gardens (*maṉai-p-paḍappu*), and all land where iguana runs and tortoise crawls not excluding any land within the area. The exact nature of the land indicated by the term *pīḍilikai* is not known. This term occurs in the Rāyakōṭa plates[94] of Pallava Skandaśishya II

90. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 102.
91. P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*
92. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 52, n. 2.
93. *Tamil Lexicon*, (s. v. *cantam*).
94. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 49-53.

assignable to *circa* 750 A.D. and the Larger Leyden grant.[95] In both the records the term occurs in the context where the several varieties of land included in the gift village are enumerated. An inscription[96] from Karuntaṭṭāṅkuḍi near Tañjāvūr dated the 5th regnal year Rājēndra Chōḷa I mentions the gold-diadem made out of gold accumulated till the previous year in various ways, including *pīḍiligai-vāri*. This shows that the word *pīḍilikai* is connected with a temple which expression may be taken from the context in which it is used as indicating the materials connected by removal from the *pīḍilikai*...Another inscription[97] from Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district dated in the 20th regnal year of Kampavarman incised above the figure of a person holding his severed head by the tuft in his left hand, while the right hand grasps a sword, registers the gift of land for the pious act of a person in cutting off flesh from nine parts of his body and finally his head as an offering to the goddess *Bhaṭāri,* i.e. *Durgā.* There it is said that he cut off his head and placed it on the *pīḍilikai* (*Bhaṭārikku-nava-k-kaṉ-ṭam-kuḍuttu kuṉṟaga-t-talai aṟuttu-p-pīḍilikai-mēl vaittāṉukku*). The context in which the word is used would indicate that it denoted the *bali-pīṭha.*

It is learnt from the *Śilappadikāram* that *śilātalas* placed under the cool shades of *Aśōka* trees, were venerated in those days. Kōvalaṉ who was leaving the city of Puhār, i.e. Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam for Madurai with his wife Kaṇṇaki is said to have worshipped among others the *śilātala* also. This has been described by the poet in the following words[98]: "They then worshipped, and went round the highly shining *śilātala* jointly built by the Jaina-householders for the benefit of the *Chāraṇas* who would assemble on festive days such as the day of the first freshes (in the Kāvērī) and of the car festival, under the entrancingly cool shade of the golden flowered *Aśōka* tree, standing on a high platform where all the five termini sacred to the five great *yogins* converged. There gathered the men of penance who had abjured meat-eating, and taken the vow of speaking the truth alone, and purified themselves of all sins, understanding the true path by restraining their senses".

The Jaina work *Aupapātika Sūtra* contains a long account of the shrine (*ceiya,* i.e. *chaitya*) of the Yaksha Pūrṇabhadra

95. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXII.
96. *S.I.I.,* Vol. V, No. 1413.
97. *Ibid.,* Vol. XII, No. 106, also plate facing the page.
98. *Śilappadikāram,* Eng. tr. by V. R. R. Dikshitar, p. 157

(Puṇṇabhadda): "Near Champa there was a sanctuary (*ceiya*) named Puṇṇabhadde. It was of ancient origin, told of by men of former days, old, renowned rich, and well known. It had umbrellas, banners, and bells; it had flags upon flags to adorn it, and was provided with brushes (*lōma-haṭṭha*: marvellous to behold or yak-tail fly-whisks?).

"It had daises (*vēyaḍḍi*) built in it, and was reverentially adorned with a coating of dry cow-dung, and bore figures of the five-fingered hand painted in *gōśīrsha* sandal, fresh red sandal, and Dardara sandal. There was in it great store of ritual pitchers. On (?beside, or above) its doorways were ritual jars (*vandaṛaghaḍe*) and well-fashioned arches (*tōraṇē*). Broad round and long-drooping masses of bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of the five colours scattered therein. It smelt pleasantly with the shimmering reek of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka*, and *turukka* (incenses), and was odorous with sweet-smelling fine scents, a very incense-wafer. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, jumpers, reciters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers, picture showmen (*maṅkhe*), pipers, lute-players, and ministrels .... This sanctuary was encompassed round about by a great wood .... In this wood there was a broad mid-space. Therein, it is related, was a great and fine Aśōka-tree. It had its root pure with *Kuśa* and *Vikusa* grass .... Underneath this fine Aśōka tree, somewhat close to its trunk, was, it is related, a large dais of (? resting upon) earthern blocks (*puḍhavī-śilā-paṭṭaē*). It (the dais) was of goodly proportions as to breadth, length and height; and it was black .... smooth and massive, eight cornered, like the face of a mirror, very delightful and variously figured with wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, elves, *ruru*-deer, *sarabha*-deer, yak-oxen, elephants, forest-creepers, and *padmaka*-creepers .... It was shaped like a throne, and was comforting .... comly".

The *puḍhavī-śilā-paṭṭaē* (i.e. *pṛithvī-śilā-paṭṭaka* in Sanskrit) of the Jaina *sūtras* is evidently the *śilātala* of the Śilappadikāram and the same probably represents the *pīḍilikai* of the inscription, thus indicating the land on which the sanctuary stood.

The several *parihārās* granted, i.e. the exemptions from taxes or the immunities to be enjoyed by the donees usually found in detail in similar grants are not mentioned in this record. This does not mean that no such exemptions from taxes were made

in the case of the village gifted by this record. The very name *paḷḷichchandam* itself given in the record as applied to the nature of the gift and the manner of enjoyment by the donee clearly indicates that it carried with it certain privileges. Further the inscription states that the village was gifted and made as *paḷḷch-chandam* after having observed and completed certain formalities. In the Sanskrit portion of the grant it is said that the entire gift village of Śramaṇāśrama or Amaṇśērkkai was separated and its boundaries fixed. The actual expression is *grāmam samagram pravibhakta sīmam* (lines 20-21). This can also be interpreted to mean that the gift village was divided and separated from the territorial division or *sīma,* i.e. the *nāḍu.* In the Tamil portion of the grant it is said that the gift was made "after changing the *kō* and *poṟi*" (*kōvum poṟiyum māṟṟi*) (line 53). The same expression occurs in the Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grant[99] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla registering the gift of a *brahmadēya* village in the form *kōvum poṟiyum tīrndu,* 'after having terminated *kō* and *poṟi*'. The word *kō* means kingship, sway, rule, domination, etc., while *poṟi* means writing, seal, signet, fate, etc. The expression may therefore be translated "after having removed from (the village) the exercise of the rights of the king and his authorities".

The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates[100] of Nandivarman III registering the gift of the village Śrīkāṭṭupaḷḷi on the request of the Chōḷa Mahārāja Kumarāṅkuśa to the Śiva temple built by a certain Yajñabhaṭṭa states that the gift village was excluded from the jurisdiction and control of the assembly of the division *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭu-niṅgal*). Similarly it appears that the *paḷḷichchandam* village also, like the *brahmadēya* and *dēvadāna* villages, was not subject to the control of the assembly of the *nāḍu* and was independent of it. This becomes clear from the way in which the royal orders of some of the later Chōḷa monarchs were issued initiating the gift of similar grants not only to the assembly of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭār*), but also to the owners of *ūr* in the *dēvadāna, paḷḷichchanda, kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu,* and *vēṭṭappēṟu* villages and to those of the *nagara* or

99. *Ep. Indica,* Vol. XVIII, p. 122, lines 36-7. Sri K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has edited the grant has read this as *kōvum poṟiyum tirandu.* The word *tirandu* is not found in the Tamil *Lexicon.* We do not also know of any other word with *tira* as its root. Even if it is taken as having been derived from *tiraṅgu,* though such formation is not according to the rules of Tamil grammar, it will mean shrunk or reduced.

100. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II, p. 509, line 50.

merchant-guild. (This has been discussed by me in detail elsewhere, while editing the Fragmentary Copper-plate grant of Sundara Chōḷa, below). Thus it will be clear that the *paḷḷichchandams* were outside the jurisdiction of the local assembly of the *nāḍu* and consequently not liable to pay the rates and taxes payable to such assemblies.

Such villages were not also liable to pay any tax to the king and his government. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam[101] and Paṭṭatāḷmaṅgalam[102] plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla clearly specify that the donees of the respective grants were exempt from all taxes which the king could receive and enjoy from that village (*kō-t-toṭṭu uṇṇa-p-pāla-vellām uṇṇa-p-peṟādār-āgavum*). Similar expression occurs in other records also, e.g., the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates[103] of Nandivarman III. The Bāhūr plates[104] of Nṛipatuṅga registering the gift of three villages as *brahmadēya* for the enjoyment (*vidyābhōga*) to the seat of learning (*vidyāsthāna*) there, state that the villages were to enjoy all the privileges and immunities applicable to Bāhūr with which they had been clubbed, without mentioning such exemptions in detail. In many records of the Vākāṭakas, registering land-gifts to *Brāhmaṇas* (e.g. the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā),[105] it is mentioned that "the exemptions incident to a village belonging to the community of *Chāturvidyas* (as) approved by former kings" were conferred on the donees. The Mayidavōlu plates of Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman also say that the gift was made in the following terms *ētēhi anehicha sava bambhadēya-majādāya sava parihareti pariharito*. It will be apparent from the above that *brahmadēya* gifts had by usage come to enjoy certain inherent exemptions. It is very likely that *paḷḷichchandam* grants also enjoyed similar privileges.

Among the immunities enjoyed by the donees of *brahmadēya* villages specific mention is made of some privileges in certain

101. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 521, lines 33-4.
102. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.
103. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 509, line 56.
104. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.
105. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 213. The text (lines 15-6) runs as follows: *Yatobhavadbhir-uchita-maryyādayā sarvv-ājñāḥ kartavyāḥ pūrvva-rājānutānmach ātra chāturvidy-āgrahāra parihārān-vitarāmas-tadyatā-a-bhaṭa-chhātra-pravēśyah.*

grants. The Mayidavōlu plates[106] abovementioned include *abhaḍa-papesam* as one of the immunities the village obtained thus that it should not be entered by soldiers. The Poona plates of Prabhā-vatī-guptā state that "it is not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers". This mention of umbrella-bearers clearly indicates that king and their followers have nothing to do with such villages which were immune from their control.

The expression *kōvum-poṟiyum māṟṟi* of the present record should be understood in the light of the above, to indicate that the gift village was completely freed from the administrative control of the Government and that it secured an independent status.[107]

The use of the word *paradatti* (in line 63) in describing the grant in this record is significant. This word occurs in other records also, e.g. the Bāhūr plates[108] of Nripatuṅgavarman, the Kaśākkuḍi plates[109] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the Vēlūr-pāḷaiyam plates[110] of Nandivarman III. There the word has been translated as the 'gift' and this does not seem to convey fully the import of the word. Literally the word *paradatti* may be taken as indicating the gift to another person or the gift by another person. If the former is intended the prefix *para* is superfluous as *datti* itself would indicate that which is given as a gift. In some of the imprecatory verses usually found in inscriptions this word is used in the latter sense.

svadättām paradättām vā
yō harēta vasundharām |
shashṭi varsha sahasrāṇi
vishṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimiḥ ||

106. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 86-8.

107. One of the usual imprecatory verses beginning *ēk-aiva bhaginī-lōkē* found in grants making land gifts compares the gift land to a sister and thus not fit to be appropriated and enjoyed. The expression *na kara-grāhya* means 'no tax to be collected' as well as 'no obtaining the hand'. There are many *purāṇic* stories which describe that kings of old never even resided in the land they had once given away. Hariśchandra left his ancient kingdom after having given it to Viśvāmitra and went to Vārāṇasī. Paraśurāma is said to have created the land of Kerala, as he had no place to reside, he having gifted all his possessions to others.

108. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 10.

109. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, line 133.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 509, line 63.

svadattādviguṇam puṇyam
paradattānupālanaṁ |
paradattāpahārēṇa
svadattam nishphalam bhavēt ||

The use of the word *paradattam* in opposition with *svadattam* will clearly indicate that it means 'gift by another person'. It can also be surmised from a study of the records wherein the word *paradatti* occurs, that the gifts mentioned therein were originally made by some other person and that such gifts were later confirmed by the monarchs declaring the gift-lands or villages tax-free.

A fragmentary inscription[111] from Piḷḷaipāḷaiyam on the outskirts of Kāñchīpuram dated in the reign of Dantivarman mentions the *paradatti* of four *paṭṭis* of land to the old temple of Tirumēṟṟaḷi and to a *maṭha*, probably attached to it, on the request of Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttaraiyaṉ (*Kāḍu-veṭṭi-Muttaraiyaṉ—viṇṇappattāl—parihāramāga paradatti śeṉṟadu*). The implication of the verb *śeṉṟadu* derived from the root *śel*, 'to go, proceed, pass', and generally used along with *paradatti* wherever the term occurs, deserves notice.

It is said in the present record that the previous tenants of the gift village were removed (*kuḍi-nīkki*) before it was granted as *paḷḷichchandam.* The word *kuḍi* means a tenant owning the land. Thus it would mean that the village was first acquired by purchase or otherwise, not specified in the grant, by the donor in the first instance and then given away as a gift free of all encumbrances and also of the tax and that the donee was at liberly to colonize the village as he wished. In the Kūram plates[112] of Paramēśvaravarman I registering a gift of land by Vidyāvinīta Pallava, evidently a prince of the royal family, to some Brāhmaṇas and to the Śiva temple built by him, it is mentioned that the prince purchased the land paying gold and made it his own before making the gift.

There are many instances, in later inscriptions of kings like Nṛipatuṅgavarman, Aparājitavarman and Kampavarman, of payments in lump sum being made in advance by the donors of lands to temples and others tax-free, thus compounding the future

111. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 44.
112. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.

taxes payable on such lands by the donees.[113] No such details are mentioned in the grant.

The Tamil portion of the grant states that the gift of the entire village of Amaṇśērkkai and of sixteen *paṭṭis* of land in Tāmar as *paḷḷichchandam* to the ascetic (teacher) Vajranandi of Tirupparuttikkuṉṟil, while the Sanskrit portion states that it was given to Vajranandi of the Nandi *saṁgha* to meet the expenses of worshipping the Jinēndras, Jainēndras and Munīndras at the holy place of the auspicious lord Varadhamāna (*Śrī Vardhamānēśvara dharmma-tīrttha*). Evidently the *paḷḷichchandam* was granted to the temple of Vardhamāna at Paruttikkuṉṟil and handed over the same to Vajranandi, the head of the monastery there. The temple of Vardhamāna at Paruttikuṉṟil is evidently the same now remaining at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam near Kāñchīpuram. The place is also known as Jina-Kāñchī and the original seat of the Jaina pontiff, now residing at Chittāmūr near Tindivanam in the South Arcot district. The temple of Vardhamāna at Tirupparuttikuṉṟam, according to Sri T. N. Ramachandran, a late one, at least in its present form, while the other one that of Chandraprabha, the earlier.[114] But it is seen from this grant that there existed a temple for Vardhamāna at that place even in those days.

Regarding the name Tirupparuttikuṉṟil of the place Sri Ramachandran says: "We have perhaps in the name Tirupparuttikkunṟam, a corruption of the name *Śemporkuṉṟam* meaning 'the Beautiful Golden Hill', the name by which the place is referred to in an inscription".[115] The inscription[116] referred to by him is a very late one dated in the 18th regnal year

113. The stone inscription from the Tiruchirāppaḷḷi district dated in the 23rd regnal year of Nṛipatuṅgavarman (No. 84 of 1892) records that the *sabhā* at Geṅganguḍi sold some lands to Pūdi Kaṇṭhan and permitted him to endow the same to god at Tiruttavatuṟai after receiving from him gold necessary for freeing the land from the land-tax and other fees. Another record from Tiruttaṇi dated in the 18th regnal year of Aparājita (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 95) states that Nampi Appi, evidently the builder of the Śiva temple there, endowed some land obtained by purchase and made tax-free perpetually by paying gold to the *sabhā* (*sabhaiyārkku iṟai-ili-āvadarkku poṉ koḍuttu*). This lump sum payment is called *iṟai-kāval* in an inscription from Kāvāntandalam of the time of Kampavarman (No. 207 of 1901).

114. T. N. Ramachandran: *Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam and its Temples* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, Vol. I, Part 3), p. 10.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

116. *S.I.I.* (Text), Vol. IV, No. 367.

of the Chōḻa monarch Rājarāja III, corresponding to 1234 A.D. wherein the name Śemporkuṉṟu is given only as *alias* of Tirupparuttikuṉṟam which is also mentioned there. Śrī Ramachandran further writes: "The name Tiru-p-paruttikuṉṟam seems to have been derived from the fact that the cultivation of '*parutti*' the Tamil name for cotton, was once carried on here on a large scale. In proof of this fact it is now pointed out that the image of Chandraprabha in the small temple at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam is placed on the second floor at a height of about twelve feet from the ground in order that it may not be hidden amidst the cotton cultivation".[117] This derivation does not seem to be acceptable. Just as the name Kaḻugumalai is the Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Gṛidharakūṭa*, *Paruttikuṉṟu* also should have been the translation in Tamil, with the prefix *tiru* equivalent to *Sri* added, of some place name intimately connected with the life of Vardhamāna Mahāvira. This view is further strengthened by the fact that there are many villages in the Tamil country like Paruttiyūr, Paruttikkuḍi, etc. having association with *parutti*. Only we are now not aware of the incident connecting the name.

The *praśasti* was composed by Mēdhāvin who was well versed in all the śāstras, who was very respectable, and who was like Bṛihaspati (*Dhishaṇa*) in intelligence. The Udayēndiram plates[118] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla state that the *praśasti* of that grant was drawn by the poet Paramēśvara who was the son of the illustrious Chandradēva and was born in the family of Mēdhāvi. (*Mēdhāvi kulōdbhavaḥ*).[119] The claim of the poet Paramēśvara that he was born in the family of Mēdhāvi would suggest that Mēdhāvin should have been an ancestor of the family some generations removed and also a great poet of renown and also probably had composed similar *praśastis*. It is very likely that Mēdhāvi the composer of the present grant was the ancestor of the same name of the poet who composed the *praśasti* of the Udayēndiram grant.

117. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.
118. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 874 (verse 8).
119. *Ibid.*, line 105. It is possible to split the expression into two, *mēdhāvi* (meaning a person of supreme intelligence) and *kulōdbhavah* (born of good family), taking both of them as attributes to the poet instead of taking the word *Mēdhāvin* as a proper name. But the context wherein the expression occurs would suggest that the word *Mēdhāvi* should be taken as a proper name.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant *Veṇkuṉṟa-k-kōṭṭam* figures in many inscriptions and comprised the region surrounding Veṇkuṉṟam in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district. The sub-division of Perungara-nāḍu included in it consisted of the region round Perunagar, a village about eight miles west of Uttaramallūr in the Kāñchīpuram taluk of the Chingleput district. The territory round about Uttaramallūr was included in the Kāliyūr-k-kōṭṭam which we know was contiguous to the Veṇkuṉṟa-k-kōṭṭam. The gift village Amaṇśērkkai is evidently the modern Ammaṇampākkam near Veṇkuṉṟam and which is not also distant from Perunagar.

The name *Pāṇḍiyaṉ- kayam,* i.e. the Pāṇḍiyan tank, occurring among the boundaries mentioned in the grant is interesting. How the name of Pāṇḍya came to be associated with a place near Kāñchīpuram at such an early period, is not known.

TEXT

First plate — Second side

1. Svargg-āpava[r]gga praguṇāgrama—
2. tāj=jinēndraḥ [|*] munīndra dēvēndra na—
3. bṛinda-vandyaḥ || āsīd=a[ṁ]bujanābha n[ā] —
4. t=ōṁgirā gī[r]vvāṇē[śa]—
5. yur[120]=Bharadvājakaḥ Drō[ṇa]—
6. ra[121]-ripōr=amśas-tataḥ Pallavaḥ[śrī]—
7. na-kshmā vallabhā[122] vallabhaḥ || tataḥ pra—
8. k=aśōkēshvitēshv=Aśōka—

Second plate—First side

9. Pallavēśhu kramāt [|*] praṇamra-nṛipakamra-mauḷy=aruṇa-ratna-ra-
10. śmy=ātapa (t) - prabuddha-pada-paṁkajēshv=ajani Siṁhavarmmādhipāt ||

120. It should be *Śamyur,* the letters *śam* being lost at the end of the previous line.

121. The intended expression seems to be *Mura-ripōr,* the letter *Mu* being at the end of the previous line is lost.

122. Read *bhō* after supplying the *kombu* for *bhō.*

11. Śrī Siṁhavishṇur-jjita-siṁhavishṇur-bbalēna-jishṇur dha-
nushāpi
12. jishṇuṁ [|*] Bhrāji [shṇu*] vaṁśaṁ svam=alaṁkarishṇur
nnirākarishṇu=ssa—
13. marēshu dhṛishṇūn || Satya-tyāga-vinītatādi vimalaṁ[123]
14. yasminn=labdh=āspadam bṛindam kshātraguṇaṁ
samunnatam=atāv=a-
15. nyēshv=alabdhā[spa]dam[|*]yēnāhāritarām Kavēra-
tanayā hā=
16. rāpi Chōḷāvanīś-śālē-yēkshu-vaṇā-m-śukā-[124]-kramuka-

Second plate—Second side

17. rambhā-rāmasan-mēkhalā|| Śrī Varddha=mānēśvara
dharmma-tīrtthē
18. Śrī Nandi-saṁghōd-ghagaṇe gaṇaiśai [|*] guṇyair=aga-
19. ṇyair guṇibhiḥ prapūrṇṇē gaṇī gaṇīvājani Vajra Nandī||
20. Sōḍān-nṛip-ōsmai Śramaṇāśram=ākhyaṁ grāmam
21. samagraṁ pravibhakta sīmaṁ[|*] Jinēndra Jainēndra Mu-
22. nīndra bṛinda pūjāvidhānāya tapōdhanāya|| atr=ājña-
23. ptir = abhūt-mantri nāmnā Narabhay-ōbhayaḥ[|*]praś-
rayam praśamā
24. d-yudgha guṇasaṁgh-āspa[da*]ṁ sudhīḥ|| Samasta śāstra
nishṇā

Third plate—First side

25. ta dhishaṇō dhishaṇōpamaḥ[|*]mānyō nāmnāpi
26. Mēdhāvī praśastiṁ kṛitavān=imāṁ ||
27. Kō - Viśaiya Siṁhavarmmaṟku yāṇḍ-āṟāvadu [|*] Veṇ-
28. kuṉṟa-k-kōṭṭattu-p- Perunagara-nāṭṭu nāṭṭār
29. kāṇka[|*]tan-nāṭṭu Amaṇśērkkai Parutti-
30. kkuṉṟil Vajra-Nandi-k-kuravarkku-p-Paḷḷichchandamā
31. ga-k-koḍuttōm [|*]tāṅgaḷum paḍāgai naḍantu kal-
32. luṅ kaḷḷiyuṁ-nāṭṭi aṟaiyōlai śeydu ko-

Third plate—Second side

33. ḍuttuviḍudaga-v-eṉṟu nāṭṭārkku-t-tirumukam viḍa nāṭṭā-
34. rum-tirumukaṅ-kaṇḍu toḻudu talaikku vaittu paḍā-

123. The letter *ma* is over-written on *la*.
124. The symbol for the medial *ā* in the letter *kā* is over-written.

35. gai naḍa[n*]tu kalluṅ kaḻiyu-nāṭṭi nāṭṭār viḍunta
36. aṟaiyōlaippaḍi-kk-ellai [|*] Kīḻpā-
37. l=ellai endal=ēriyin kīḻai-k-kaḍaṟṟi-
38. ṉ mēṟkum=ōmaikkollai ellai iṉṉu-
39. m teṉpāl=ellai Vēḷ Vaḍugaṉ kāṇiyi-
40. ṉ vaḍakkum kaḍaṟṟiṉ=ellai iṉṉun-Nīlapāḍi

Fourth plate—First side

41. ellai iṉṉum Vilāḍaṉ kuṟṟ=īttatt=ellai
42. iṉṉum mēlpāl=ellai māv=ēttattu
43. vaḍiyiṉ kiḻakkum mummūlai-ēttatt=ellai
44. iṉṉum=āṟṟ=ellai iṉṉum vaḍapāl=el-
45. lai peruṅkollaiyiṉ-ṟeṟku iṉṉum
46. Pāṇḍiyaṉ kayatt=ellai iṉṉum Murukkaṅ-
47. kēṇi ellai[|*]iv-v-iśaitta peru-nāṅk=el
48. lai-y-agattum=agappaṭṭa nilam nīrnilamum

Fourth plate—Second side

49. puṉśeyyum kaḷarum kaṉṟumēy-pāḷum kāḍu-
50. m pīḍiligaiyum kiḍaṅguṅ kēṇiyum maṉai-
51. yum maṉaippaḍappum udumb=ōḍi āmai tava-
52. ḻndad=ellām uṇṇilan-oḻiv=iṉṟi
53. kōvum poṟiyum māṟṟi kuḍi-nīkki ivv=ūr
54. peṟṟa Vajra Nandi-k-kuravarkkē paḷḷichchandam=āga Tā
55. manilum-padiṉāṟaṟai-p-paṭṭi nilaṅ-koḍut-
56. tōm[|*]innilattiṟk-ellai kiḻpāl=e-

Fifth plate—First side

57. llai Pulikiḻār-paṭṭiyiṉ mēṟkum teṉpā-
58. l=ellai Muḷḷēripātt=ellaiyiṉ vaḍa-
59. kkum mēlpāl=ellai pōkkuvāy-ch-chēṟu-
60. viṉ kiḻakkum vaḍapāl=ellai pallāṅku-
61. ḻi-k-kāviṉ teṟkkum[|*] in-naṅk=ellai
62. yagattum agapaṭṭa bhūmiyum Paruttikkuṉṟi-
63. l Vajra-Nandi-k-kuravarkkē paḷḷichchandam=āga parada-
64. tti śeṉṟadu Narabhayaṉ=āṇattiyāl[||*] Siddham.[125]

125. Expressed by a symbol resembling an ornate *si*.

First plate—Second side

1. ஷுரு-ிாவவரு[-ி] ஆரு ௱ணாரு ஃ-
2. தாஜ்ஜெநரு ஃ ஃ௱நீரு ஜெவெரு ந-
3. வ ருவரு்ஃ॥ கூவீஃ௦ வா௱ஜநாஹ[நா]-
4. தொா௦ மிரா நீவு[-ி]ாணெ[ஶ]-
5. ய௱ஹ-ிரஃாஜகஃ [।*] ஜெ ா[ண]
6. ரஸிவொா௱௦ஶஷு தஃ வஜுவஃ [ஸ்ரீ]-
7. நா கூஷாவஜுஹாவஜுஹஃ॥ [உ*] த தஃ [வு]-
8. கஶொாகெவுஷிதெவுஷஶொாக-

Second plate—First side

9. வஜுவெஷ௱ க ஃாக [।*]
   வுணஃ நுவகஃ ஶௗவு௱௱ணா௱ நுரு-
10. ஶ்ஶா தவஷீ வா௱ஃவஃவ௦கஜெஷுஜநி
    ஸி௦ஹவஃ-ிாயிவாக [ந]
11. ஸ்ரீஸி௦ஹ விஷ௱ஜி-ித ஸி௦ஹவிஷ௱
    வு-ிஜெநஜிஷ௱ஃ-ிந௱ஷாவி
12. ஜிஷ௱ஃ [।*] ஹ ாஜி[ஷ௱*]
    வ௦ஶ௦ஷுஃ௦கஸிஷ௱ நிராகஸிஷ௱ஸ-
13. ஃரெஷ௱ யஷ ஞு॥ [ச*]
    ஸதுது ாஶ விநிதகாஃ விஃ௦
14. யஷிநுஶுா ஷுத௦ வ ரு௦
    கூஷாதுஶ௱ண௦ ஸஃ௱நுதஃதாவ
15. நெஷுஶுா [ஷு*]ஃஃ [।*]
    யெநாஹாஸிதரா௦கவொர தநயாஹா-
16. ராவிவொஉாவநிஶ்ஶாவெ யெகூ௱வணா [௦*]
    ஶ௱காக ஃ௱க-

Second Plate—Second Side

17. ர ஷுாராஃஸநுவஶா [ரு*]
    ஸ்ரீவஃ-ிஃாநெஶ்வர யஃ-ிதீதுஃ-ி

18. ஸ்ரீ நந்திஸம்வொ வமணெ மணெஶெ ம஻ணெஹ்யாம

19. ணெஹ்யமஹ்ணிஹி: ஶ்ருவக்ஷணெஹ்
    மணீமணீவாஜநி வஜ்ரநந்தீ ॥ [௬*]

20. ஸொஷாந்ருவொஸெஷ ஶ்ருதணாஶ்ருதாவ்யம் மூஸீ

21. ஸமூரம் ஶ்ருவிஹத்வஸீஸீ[।*] ஜிநேந்த்ரஜெநேந்த்ரஸீ

22. நீந்த்ரவ்யாநவக்ஷஜாவியாநாயதவொயநாய ॥ [எ*]
    ஸுத்ராஜ்ஞ

23. ஷிரஹக்ஷதநிந்த்ரநாஸீநாஹஹயொஹய: [।*]
    ஶ்ருஶ்ருயம் ஶ்ருஶஸீ

24. ஷ்யாஷ்வமணஸம்வாஹ்வ [ஓ*]ம் ஸாயி: ॥ [அ*]
    ஸஸீஸஶரஸ்தநிஷ்ணா

Third plate—First side

25. தயிஷணாயிஷணாவஸீ: [।*] ஸீநேந்த்ராநாஸீவி

26. ஜெயாவீ ஶ்ருஶஸ்தீ க்ருதவாநிஸீ ॥ [௬*]–

27. கொவிசைய ஸிம்ஹவர்மற்கு யாண்டாருவது வெண்

28. குன்றக் கொட்டததுப் பெருநகர நாட்டு நாட்டார்

29. காண்க [|*] தந் நாட் அமண் சேர்க்கை பருத்தி

30. க்குன்றில் வஜ்ரநந்திக்குரவர்க்குப் பள்ளிச் சந்தமா

31. கக் கொடுத்தொந் [1*] தாங்களும் படாகை நடந்து கல்

32. லுங் கள்ளியுந் நாட்டி அறையொலே செய்து கொ-

Third plate—Second side

33. டுத்து விடுதகவென்று நாட்டிர்க்குத் திருமுகம் விட நாட்டா

34. ருந் திருமுகங்கண்டு தொழுது தலேக்கு வைத்து படா

35. கைநட[ந்*]து கல்லுங் கள்ளியு நாட்டி நாட்டார் விடுந்த

36. அறையொலேப்படிக்கெல்லே[|*] கிழபா

37. லெல்லே எந்த லெரியின்கீழைக் கடற்றி

38. ன் மெற்குமொமைக் கொல்லே எல்லே இன்னு

39. ம் தென்பாலெல்லே வெள்வடுகன் கெணியி

40. ன் வடக்கும் கடற்றினெல்லே இன்னுந் நீலபாடி

Fourth plate—First side

41. எல்லை இன்னும் விலாடன் குற்றெத்தத்தெல்லை
42. இன்னும் மெல்பாலெல்லை மாவெத்தத்து
43. வதியின் கிழக்கும் மும்மூலைஎத்தத்தெல்லை
44. இன்னு மாறறெல்லை இன்னும் வடபாலெல்
45. லை பெருங்கொல்லையின் றெற்கு இன்னும்
46. பாண்டியன் கயத்தெல்லை இன்னும் முருக்கங்
47. கெணி எல்லை [|] இவ்விசைத்த பெருநான்கெல்*
48. லை யகத்து மகப்பட்ட நிலம் நீர் நிலமும்

Fourth plate—Second side

49. புன்செய்யும் களரும் கன்றுமெய்பாழும் காடு
50. ம் பீடிலிகையும் கிடங்குங் கெணியும் மனை
51. யும் மனைப்படப்பும் உடும்பொடி ஆமை தவ
52. ழ்ந்த தெல்லாம் உண்ணில ஞெழிவின்றி
53. கொவும் பொறியும் மாற்றி குடிநீக்கி இவ்வூர்
54. பெற்ற வஜ்ரநந்திக்குரவர்க்கெ பள்ளிச்சந்தமாக தா
55. மரிலும் பதிறைரைப்பட்டி நிலங் கொடுத்
56. தொம்[|] இந்நிலத்திற் கெல்லை கீழ்பாலெ*

Fifth plate—First side

57. ல்லை புலிகிழார்பட்டியின் மெற்கும் தென்பா
58. லெல்லை முள்ளெறி பாத்தெல்லையின் வட
59. க்கும் மெல்பாலெல்லை பொக்குவாய்ச்செறு
60. வின் கிழக்கும் வடபாலெல்லை பல்லாங்கு
61. ழிக்காவின் தெற்க்கும் இந்நான்கெல்லை
62. யகத்தும் அகப்பட்ட ஹிஜியும் பருத்திக் குன்றி
63. ல் வஜ்ரநந்திக் குரவர்க்கெ பள்ளிச் சந்தமாக ஸ்வஸ்
64. தி சென்றது நாராயணத்தியால் ‖ ஸ்ரீ ‖—

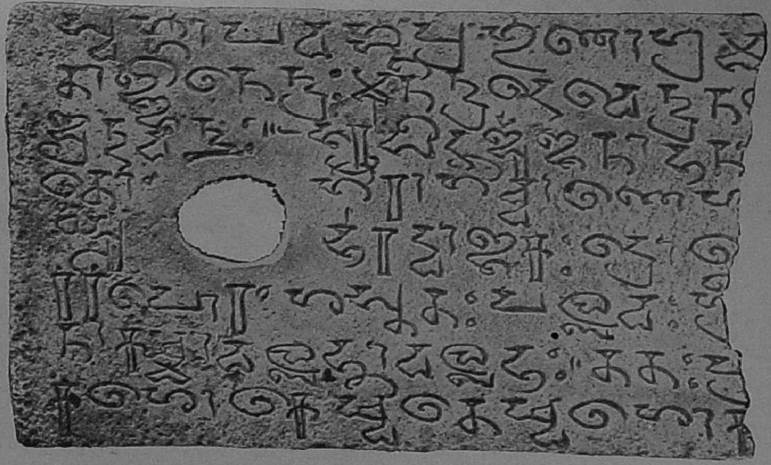
TRANSLATION

(Verse 1). The great virtues of heaven (*Svargga*) and beatitude (*apa-vargga*) .... Jinēndra one who is worshipped by the groups of....... the great sages and Indra of the gods (*Dēvēndra*).

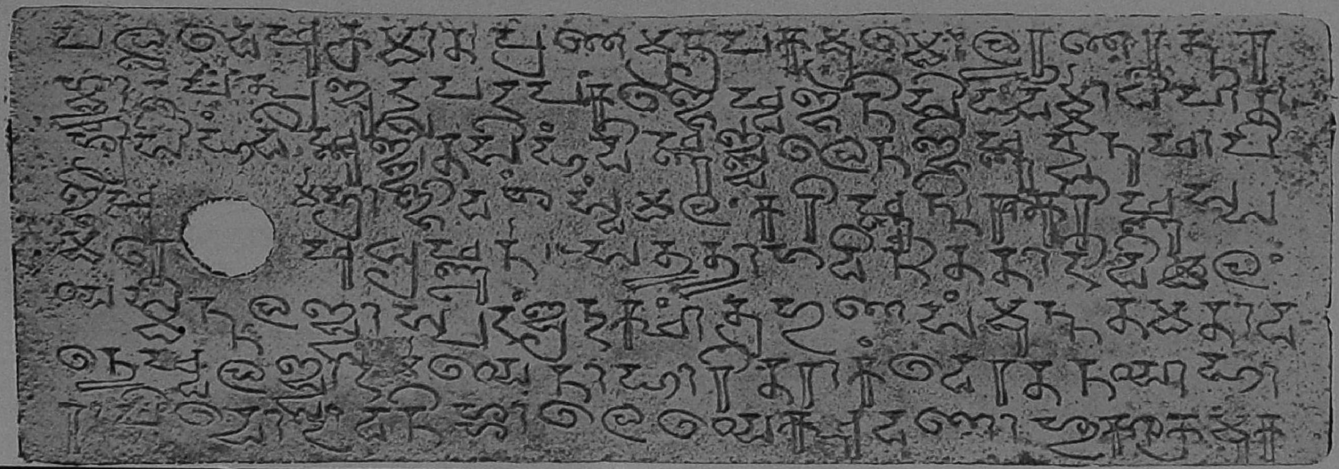
Scale : three-fourths

Fig. 1. Seal with bull etc.

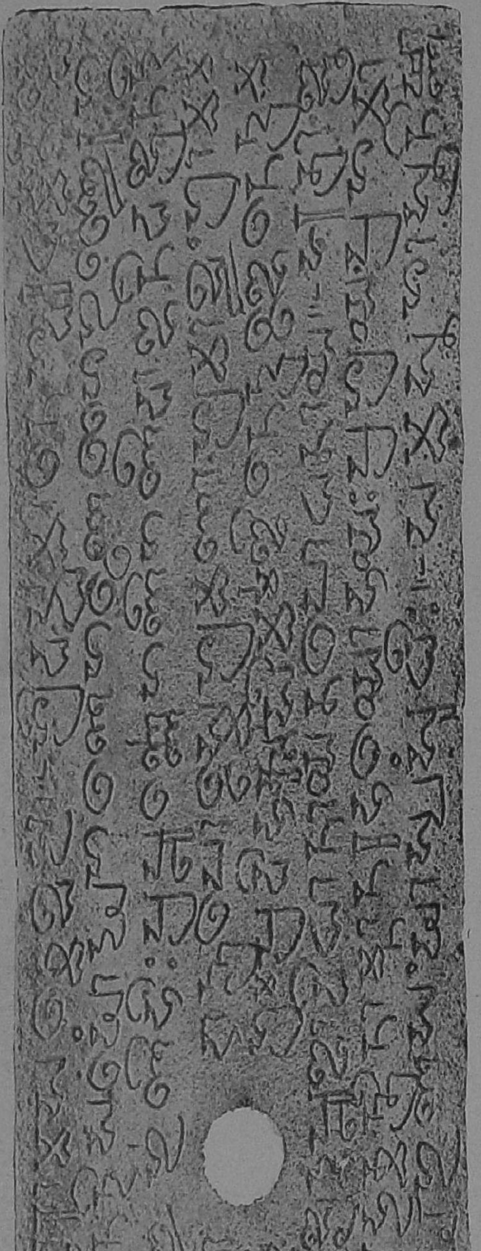
The legend reads *Śrī Siṁhavarmmaṇaḥ* |
Pātraskhalitavṛittīnām sāstramā[*nasām* ||]



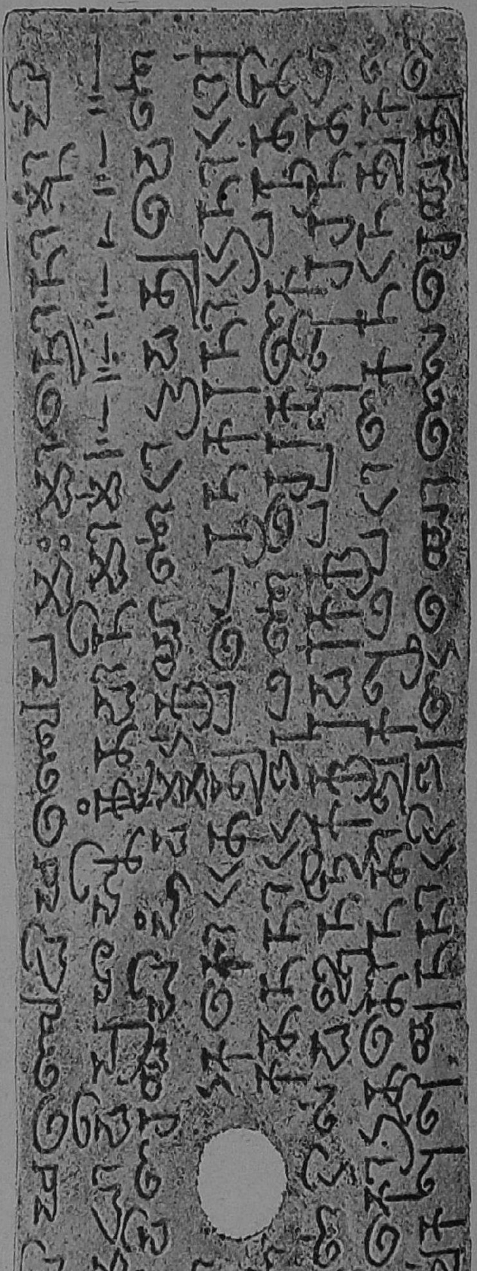
1st plate—2nd side : *Lines* 1 to 8



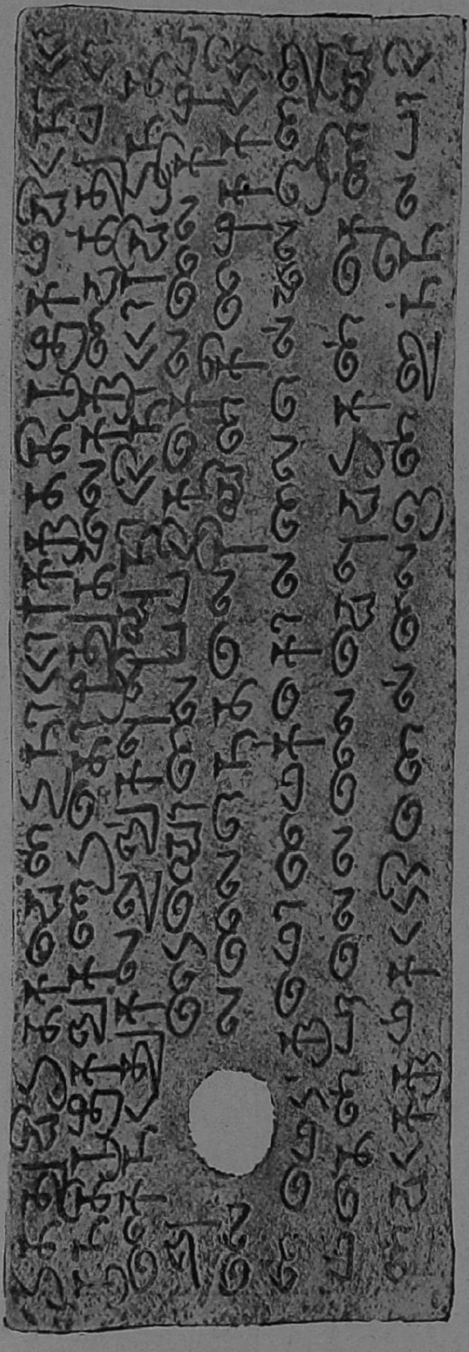
2nd plate—1st side : *Lines* 9 to 16



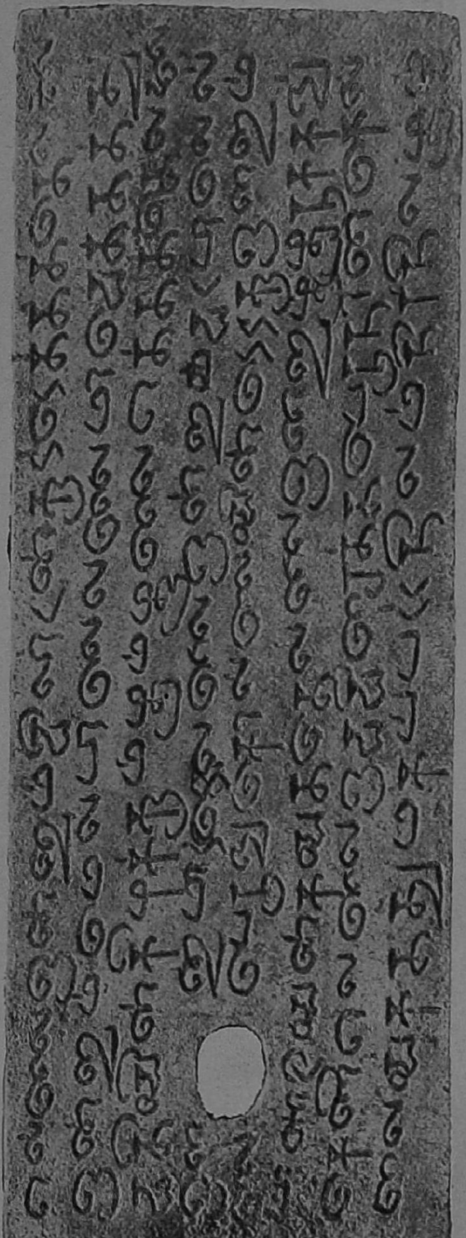
3rd plate—1st side : *Lines* 25 to 32



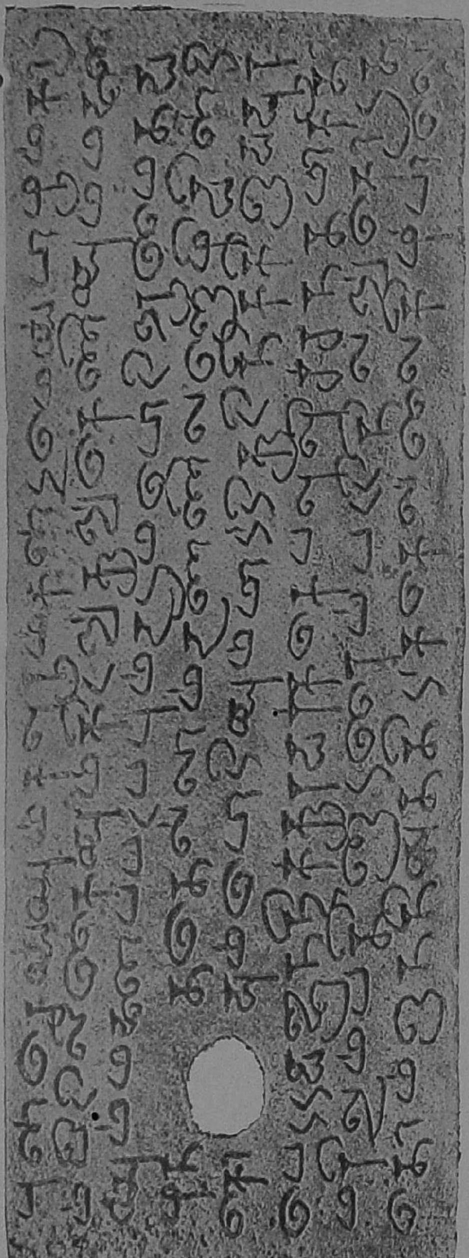
Scale : three-fifths



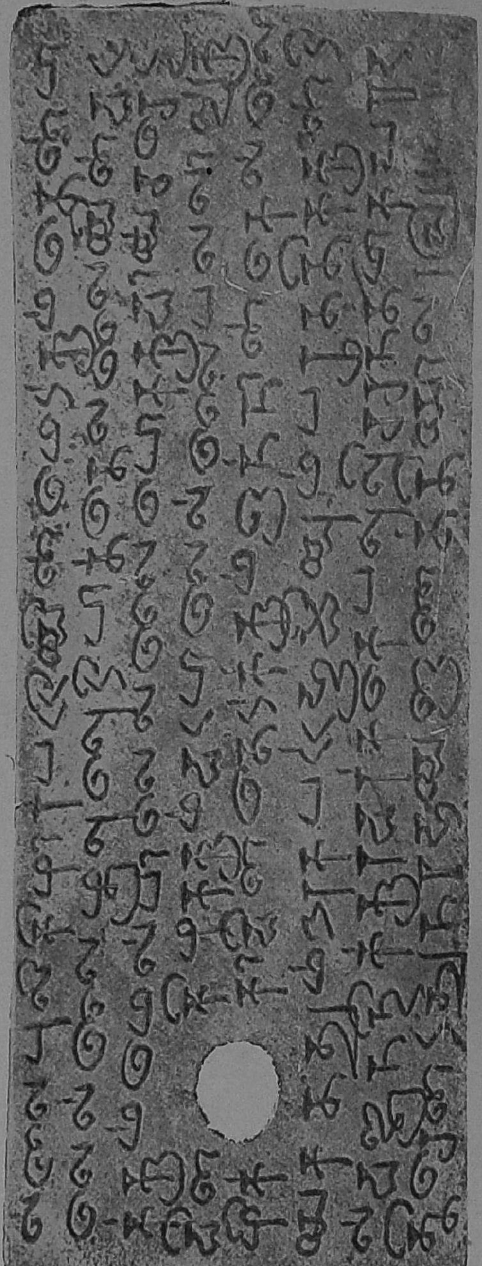
3rd plate—2nd side : *Lines* 33 to 40



4th plate—1st side : *Lines* 41 to 48



4th plate—2nd side : *Lines* 49 to 56



5th plate—1st side : *Lines* 57 to 64

Scale : three-fifths

(Verse 2). There was........Ambujanābha (i.e. Vishṇu), Gīrvāṇēśa (i.e. Brahmā, the lord of Gīrvāṇī or Sarasvatī)...... [Śam]yu[126] belonging to Bharadvāja, Droṇa......being a part of the enemy of......ra[127] (very likely Mura, thus indicating Mura-ripu i.e. Vishṇu), then Pallava, the illustrious........the lord (*Vallabha*) of the Earth[128] and prowess (*vallabha*).

(Verse 3). These......(for those affilicted) with sorrow,[129] (bringing) pleasure......in order amongst the Pallavas......was born king Siṁhavarman, whose feet were like a lotus which had blossomed, of a series of rew of kings with the heat produced by the rays of the red-jewels adorning the heads, which mere engaged in bowing before him.

(Verse 4). The illustrious Siṁhavishṇu, who conquered (another) Siṁhavishṇu[130], who was like Jishṇu (i.e. Arjuna) both in valour and archery, who adorned (by his person) the Bhrāji= (shṇu) family and who was capable of conquering the enemies in battles.

(Verse 5). He in whom the group of virtues (beginning with) truthfulness, sacrifice (*tyāga*), modest, (*vinītatā*) has found an abode and in whom the quality of warriors (*kshātraguṇa*) has become very highly developed (to the extent) not found in any-one else, conquered the land of the Chōlas, which had as its garland the daughter of Kavēra, i.e., the river Kāvērī and as its waist-band (*mēkhalā*) the rice-fields, the rich fields of sugarcane, the groves of palm trees, plantains and the like.

(Verse 6). At the holy place (*dharma-tīrtha*) of the lord Śrī Vardhamāna (*Śrī Vardhamānēśvara*) was the Nandisaṁgha. In its horizon which was full of a horde of virtuous teachers (*gaṇaiśa*, literally, leaders of groups) possessing innumerable good qualities,

126. The name of *Śamyu* is filled from the genealogical information obtain-ed from the other grants of the Pallavas.

127. The missing letter of the expression *ra-ripu* is possibly *Mu*. It may also be restored as *Tripura-ripu*.

128. The expression *Kshmā-vallabha* is synonymous with *Prithivī-vallabha*.

129. There is a pun of the word *aśōka* here. It is possibly that there is here a reference to a king having the name of Aśōkavarman who is men-tioned as an ancestor in the family both in the *Vēlūrpāḷaiyam* plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 510, verse 5) and the Vāyalūr pillar inscription (*En. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 151).

130. This may also be taken as comparing him to god Narasiṁhavishṇu, not only in name but also in prowess. see p. 63 above.

there appeared *Vajranandi* well versed in all sacred literature and a teacher.

(Verse 7). The king gave away to the great ascetic ths entire village of Śramaṇāśrama (the hermitage of the *Śramaṇas*) after having separated and fixed its boundaries[131] for the purpose of worship of the groups of Jinēndras, Jainēndras and Munīndras.

(Verse 8). Here the executor (*ājñapti*) was the wise and fearless minister Narabhaya, who was the abode of qualities like forbearance.[132]

(Verse 9). This eulogy (*praśasti*) was composed by Mēdhāvī who was immersed in all the sciences (*śāstras*) who was very respectable and who was like Dhishaṇa (i.e., Bṛihaspati) in intelligence.

Tamil portion

In the sixth year (of the reign) of King Vijaya Siṁhavarman (the king) having issued the royal order (*tirumugam*) (with the following words): "Let the assembly of the *nāḍu* (i.e. the *nāṭṭār*) of the Perunagara-nāḍu, a sub-division of Veṇkuṉṟa-k-kōṭṭam observe. We have granted the village of Amaṇśērkkai in your *nāḍu* as *paḷḷichchandam* to the teacher (*kuravar*) Vajra-Nandi of Paruttikkuṉṟil. (Accordingly) you also walk (around) the *paḍāgai*, plant stones and milk-bush (*kaḷḷi*) and issue the order for proclamation to the assembly of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭār*).

And the members of the assembly of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭāṟ*) having seen the royal order, made obeisance and placed it on their heads, walked (around the boundaries of) the *paḍāgai,* planted stones and milk-bush, and issued the order for proclamation (*aṟaiyōlai*) according to which the boundaries are (as follows): The eastern boundary is to the west of the jungle on the eastern side of the tank (known as) *ēndal-ēri* and also of the garden of tooth-brush tree (*ōmai*). Again the southern boundary is to the north of the well (belonging to) Vēḷ Vaḍugaṉ and also of the jungle and of the boundary of (the village) Nīlapāḍi, and of the small piccotah or water-lift (*kuṟṟ-ēttam*) of Vilāḍaṉ (i.e. Virāṭan). Further the

131. This may also be taken as indicating that the entire village was separated from the territorial division *sīmā*; vide p. 69 above.

132. The poet seems to have punned on the words *Narabhaya* and *abhaya*, probably intended to indicate that though the minister was 'a terror to man' (*narabhaya*) in name yet he was a protector (*abhaya*) of men.

western boundary is to the east of the pathway (*vadi*) of the great water-lift or piccotah (*māvēttam*) and the boundary of water-lift at the three-corner (*mummūlai-ēttam*) and the limits (or boundary) of the river (*āṟṟ-ellai*). Again the northern boundary is to the south of the great garden (*peruṅ-kollai*) and also of the boundary of the Pāṇḍiyan tank (*kayam*) and also of the garden of the *palā* (or white fig) trees (*murukkaṅ-kollai*).

All the land situated wthin the four great boundaries thus described inclusive of wet lands, dry lands, brackish land, i.e., saline soil (*kaḷar*), the waste land where the calves graze (grazing pasture) (*kaṉṟu-mēy-pāḻ*), forest, *pīḍilikai,* ditches (*kiḍaṅgu*), wells, houses, house-gardens (*maṉai-u-paḍappu*) and all land where iguana runs and tortoise crawls without excluding any land within the area (was given) after removing (the existing) tenants and changing the kingship and authority.

To the same teacher Vajranandi who received this village, we gave sixteen and a half *paṭṭis* of land as *paḷḷichchandam* in the village Tāmar (Dāmar). The boundaries to this land are: The eastern boundary is to the west of the (land known as) Puḷikiḻār-paṭṭi, the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of Muḷ-ḷēri pāttu; the western boundary is to the east of the (land known as) Pōkku-vāy-ch-cheṟuvu; and the northern boundary is to the south of the pallāṅkuḷi-kāvu (i.e., the park with the holes for playing the game known as *pallāṅkuḷi*). The land situate within four boundaries was given as *paḷḷichchandam* to the same teacher Vajranandi of Paruttikkuṉṟil. This *paradatti* was made with the executorship of Narabhaya. Success.

PAḶḶANKŌVIL FRAGMENTARY JAINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF EARLY CHŌḶA PERIOD *

BY

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM

Epigraphist and Historian, Madras

Grant (of Sundara Chōḷa)

This fragmentary set also from Paḷḷankōvil (see p. 41 for details of discovery) consists of six plates numbered 13, 15, 18, 19, 21 and 23 with writing on both sides. The inscription written on these plates does not end on the second side of the twenty-third plate and as such there should have been one or more plates after that to complete the record. The set should thus have consisted originally of at least twenty-four plates if not more, and had it been recovered in full would have been a much bigger set containing, very likely, valuable historical information now unfortunately lost to us.

Each plate has a hole in the middle near the left-hand margin for the ring to pass through. The ring which should have held the plates together and the seal that should have been attached to the ring at the place where the ends meet are also missing, along with the other plates. Each plate is numbered with the Tamil numerals on the first page above the ring-hole.

The available plates are written in the Tamil language and script, with a sprinkling here and there of words of Sanskrit origin written in the Grantha script. Palaeographically the writing may be assigned to the tenth century A.D. Considering the tenor and contents of similar copper-plate grants of the period we may presume that this grant also consisted of two parts, a Sanskrit one, very likely in verse and written in the Grantha script at the beginning followed by the Tamil part containing the administrative orders concerning the grant. The Sanskrit portion which should have contained an elaborate eulogy (*praśasti*) of the donor and

* Paper read at the meeting of the Society held on 23-1-1960.

his ancestors has thus been lost. Even in the Tamil part, the portion containing the name of the ruler and the regnal year of his reign when the grant was issued, is not available.

The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks as they are common to the records of the period, *e.g.*, the doubling of the consonant *k* after the hard cerebral *ṟ* in the words like *teṟkku* or *mēṟkku* and the addition of a superfluous *y* as suffix to the words ending with a long *ē*, *varambēy* or *naḍuvēy*.

However there are a few words of lexical and other interest occurring in this record. One such is *śilēṭṭi* prefixed to the name of the donor *Kuḍiyaṉ*. This seems to be the popular or colloquial form of the word *śilēṭṭi* meaning a merchant given in the Tamil nighaṇṭu *Divākaram* derived from *śrēshṭhin*, the modern form of which is *cheṭṭi* or *śeṭṭi*. Another word is *āṇ-aḍigaḷ* meaning 'male ascetics'. This can very easily be mistaken and read as *āṇḍigaḷ*, but for its occurrence along with the other word *peṇ-ṇ-aḍigaḷ*, meaning 'female ascetics'. Evidently the word *āṇḍi* indicating a male mendicant or poor man owes its origin to the form *āṇ-aḍi*. A third one is *māṇākkichchi* denoting a female disciple. The most common form of the word is *māṇākki* derived from *māṇākkaṉ* denoting a male disciple, with the suffix *aṉ* indicating third person singular male replaced with *i* indicating third person singular female. The forms *māṇākkatti* or *māṇākkachchi* are also singular female. The forms *māṇākkatti* or *māṇākkachchi* are also possible like the words *paḷḷatti* or *paḷḷachchi* indicating the feminine gender of *paḷḷaṉ*. Here we find the usual *māṇākkichchi* with both the suffixes.[1]

Two other words *Kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *Vēṭṭappēṟu* also deserve consideration. These words occur in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[2] and the Larger Leiden grant[3] of Rājēndra Chōḷa I. The former term *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* which also occurs in the Anbil plates[4] of Sundara Chōḷa has been explained by the editor of the grant, T. A. Gopinatha Rao, as the tax-free land gifted to astrologers,

1. It is not likely that the word is a mistake for *māṇākkachchi* with the addition of the medial vowel *i* to the letter *ki*, as instances of similar double suffixes to indicate the feminine gender are not wanting in Tamil vocabulary.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 243-258.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV.

taking the word *gaṇi* to mean an astrologer. The other term *Vēṭṭappēṟu* has been read as *Veṭṭappēṟu* taking the first of the medial vowel *e* as a short one and then corrected as *Veṭṭippēṟu* evidently connecting it with the term *veṭṭi* indicating the compulsory free labour enjoined on the villagers for the work of deepening the supply channels feeding the fields regularly with water. While editing the Larger Leiden grant Sri K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar remarks:[5] "The order of the king granting the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya kiḻavar* (*i.e.*, the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūrgaḷilār* (*i.e.*, the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas, paḷḷichchandas, kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēṟu* and to the *nagaras.* It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūrār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *veṭṭippēṟu* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *naṭṭār* only, and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, *viz.,* (1) the assembly of the division (*nāḍu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr,* (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas,* i.e., the *sabhās,* and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya, dēvadāna,* or *paḷḷichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu* is not so plain. The word *kaṇi* is used in ancient Tamil works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāḻigaikkaṇakkar* or *kaḍigaiyār.* (See *Jīvakachintāmaṇi,* verse 2733, and *Śilappadikāram, Indira-viḻā-eḍutta-kātai,* 1.49). It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Muṟṟūṭṭu* may be taken to mean 'complete yield'. This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from *Kīḻappaḷuvūr* (No. 678 of *S.I.I.,* Vol. V) where we find the phrase *i-nnilam-uḻudu payir-ēṟṟi-muṟṟūṭṭum koṇḍuvandu tiru-muṟṟattu aḷappadāgavum.* The use of the word *muṟṟūṭṭu* after the group *dēvadāna-paḷḷichchanda-kaṇi* seems to indicate that in the case of lands of villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina

5. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXII, p. 231.

shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna-muṟṟūṭṭu, paḷḷichchanda-muṟṟūṭṭu* and *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu.* The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās,* different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr,* as we see it in the very inscription". This does not appear to be entirely correct.

We have many records registering gifts of lands or villages as *dēvadānas* and *paḷḷichchandams* but nowhere are these terms found with the addition of the word *muṟṟūṭṭu.* Further if the word *muṟṟūṭṭu* is common for the *dēvadāna, paḷḷichchanda* and *kaṇi* as has been supposed by Sri Aiyar, then this group of three would have been separately mentioned like the *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* without the inclusion of the *veṭṭippēṟu* which also would have been mentioned separately. As such we have to take that *muṟṟūṭṭu* is applicable only to the class of *kaṇi* thus making up *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* as indicating a definite and separate class by itself. Similarly we have also many records relating to *brahmadēyas;* but not even a single record has been found so far registering a gift of land either as *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* or as *vēṭṭappēṟu.* These two terms are found only among the groups of persons to whom the royal order relating to the grant has been addressed along with the local assembly of the division, *nāḍu* and among those who accordingly carried out the royal order and prepared the order for proclamation (*aṟaiyōlai*) defining the boundaries of the gift land. It will also become clear from the phraseology of these grants that the *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *vēṭṭappēṟu* villages were not small in number and that they were distributed in all the divisions, *nāḍu,* of the dominion, like the other three, *dēvadānams, paḷḷichchandams,* and *brahmadēyams.* Then *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* could not have been the lands or villages given to the royal astrologers as their extent would be quite disproportionate to the number of individuals. Further, land grants made in lieu of wages for services rendered, i.e., service-*ināms,* are always for enjoyment only during the life time of the receiver (such terms being known in later days as *jīvitam*). If on the other hand it is taken as representing the land gifts made to the astrologers in general, then these would have been included in the several villages where such astrologers resided and not be deemed as independent villages.

I have shown, while editing the copper-plate grant of the Pallava king Śiṁhavarman (see above p. 41ff) that the *dēvadāna paḷḷichchanda* and *brahmadēya* villages were, at the time of their being granted, as such, separated from the jurisdiction of the assembly of the division *nāḍu,* in which they were situated and constituted as such autonomous villages. The grouping of the *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *vēṭṭappēṟu* villages along with these would indicate that they were also likewise autonomous bodies not under the jurisdiction of the assembly of the division, *nāḍu.* Very likely the *nagaram* or townships of merchants were also similarly autonomous. We may cite as an analogy, the modern municipalities of towns and the *panchāyats* of villages, though within the territorial limits of a district, functioning independently of the local assembly of the district board.

The expression *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* has been taken as referring to the 'head men of the *brahmadēyas*'. The word *kiḻavar* is derived from *kiḻamai* meaning ownership and therefore means owner. Thus the expression would mean the owners of the *brahmadēyas.*

It appears that the *brahmadēya* villages were of different kinds. It is true that the *brahmadēyas,* as the name indicates, were gifts to Brāhmaṇas but some of them were not free or unconditional gifts, as they had strings attached. For example, it is learnt from the Bāhūr plates[6] of Pallava Nṛipatuṅga, that the three gift villages though given as *vidyābhōga* to the *vidyāsthāna* of Vāgūr, i.e., as a source of revenue for the enjoyment of the seat of learning at Vāgūr, were made *brahmadēya* and joined to Vāgūr, evidently another *brahmadēya* already in existence. It will thus become clear that the *brahmadēya* grant recorded in those plates was restricted to the extent that a portion of the income of the gift village should be utilised for the maintenance of the seat of learning. There were also *dēvadāna-brahmadēyas.* The Kāśākkuḍi plates[7] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla register the gift as *brahmadēya* to a Brāhmaṇa of the village Koṭukoḷḷi after excluding the *dēvadāna-brahmadēya.* This term has been explained by the editor as indicating the *dēvadānas* and the *brahmadēyas.* This does not seem to be precise. It indicates a kind of tenure which was a *brahmadēya* and at the same time also a *dēvadāna.* This becomes clear from

6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.
7. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II, p. 351, line 107.

an inscription[8] from Tirumālpuram in the North Arcot district dated in the 14th year, 216th day in the reign of Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōḷa registering the course of a transaction during the period of nearly one century. Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr in Maṇayil-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṇayil-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṇayilkōṭṭam, had been granted as a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* in the 21st regnal year of Toṇḍamāṉ-Āṟṟūr-t-tuñjiṉa Uḍaiyār (i.e., Āditya I, the king who died at Toṇḍamāṉ-Āṟṟūr), to the *sabhā* of Puduppākkam, a *brahmadēya* of Puriśai-nāḍu in the same *kōṭṭam*. Though a *śāsana* was drawn up in the next year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya*. This mistake was rectified in the fourth year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman who took Madurai and īḻam (i.e., Parāntaka I) and the *sabhā* of Puduppākkam were remitting the produce and gold due from them to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumālpēṟu. In the thirtysixth regnal of the king last mentioned, the dues from Puduppākkam were increased as a result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king, Uttama Chōḷa, when he was in the palace at Kāñchīpuram. The king after due enquiry fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple. Thus in *dēvadāna-brahmadēya,* the *brahmadēya* village had to make some payment, either in gold or in grain or in both, to the temple.

Even the *brahmadēyas* granted for the sole enjoyment of Brāhmaṇas were of two kinds. One kind represents the gift made to a single person. Generally such grants, though constituted as separate units or villages comprised small and compact areas intended for the sole enjoyment of the donee and his descendants. The Anbil plates[9] of Sundara Chōḷa register the gift of ten *vēlis* of land as *brahmadēya* to his minister Brahmādhirājaṉ constituting it as a separate village. The Kaśākkuḍi plates[10] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla register the gfit of two *paṭṭis* of land together with house and house-garden constituted as a separate village under the name Ēkadhīramaṅgalam to the Brāhmaṇa Śeṭṭireṅga Sōmayāji as a *brahmadēya*. The land gifted is one unit or ordinary measure of two-*paṭṭis* (*sāmānya iraṇḍu paṭṭi-p-paḍi*). It is learnt from the

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 142.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II.

Kūram grant[11] of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I that one *paṭṭi* measured one thousand and two hundred *kuḻis*. Thus the unit of ordinary measure of two *paṭṭis* consisted of two thousand and four hundred *kuḻis*. This is considered as one share (*paṅgu*). It may be mentioned in this connection that even today in some of the villages in the Tañjāvūr district, e.g., Uḍaiyāḷūr referred to further below, transactions in landed property, though informally, are conducted only in terms of *paṅgu* or share consisting of two thousand and four hundred *kuḻis* or eight acres (though the written documents generally contain only *vēli* and *kuḻi*, or acre and cents). It will thus be seen that the *brahmadēya* village Ēkadhīra-maṅgalam created by the Kaśākkuḍi plates was very small in extent sufficient barely for the maintenance of a single family. These are called *ēkabhōga brahmadēyas* being in the sole enjoyment of single persons. Such villages would not have had the assembly or the *sabhā* usually found in Brāhmaṇa villages. The sole owner had the entire control of the village. The *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* i.e., the owners of *brahmadēyas* mentioned in the group of persons to whom royal orders were issued evidently refer to the owners of these *ēkabhōga-brahmadēyas*.

The other kind of *brahmadēyas* consisted of villages given as a free-gift to a number of *Brāhmaṇas* jointly, each village being divided into a number of shares and each person having half, one or two shares as specified in the respective grant. Some times the number of donees exceeded two hundreds as in the Taṇḍan-tōṭṭam plates[12] of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. These persons enjoyed the village in common, each receiving his portion of the yield as stipulated. This kind of enjoyment is known technically as *gaṇabhōga* (as opposed to *ēkabhōga* of a single owner). The assembly known as *sabhā* existed only in the villages of this type. It may also be noted in this connection that though the *sabhās* figure in inscriptions from at least the middle of the eighth century, as mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant[13] of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, thus indicating official recognition, we have not so far obtained any record containing the royal order directly addressed to the *sabhās*. But we find the *sabhās* taking part along with the assembly of the *nāḍu* and others for fixing the boundaries

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. II.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

of the gift-villages and issuing the order for proclamation. This would not have happened if the orders were not also addressed to them jointly.

In the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[14] of Rājēndra Chōḷa I it is seen that the royal order was addressed to the assembly of the *nāḍu,* to the owners (*kiḻavar*) of the *brahmadēyas,* to the assemblies of *ūr* of the villages inclusive of *dēvadāna, paḷḷichchanda, kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu, vēṭṭappēṟu* and *paḷa-v-aṟachchālābhōgam* and to the assemblies (*nagaṟam*) of merchants. It is very unlikely that those of the *gaṇabhōga* villages of *brahmadēya* are included in the term *brahmadēya-kiḻavar,* as their number will be unwieldy for each owner to be separately addressed with a copy of the royal order. Most probably the term *ūr* connoted in the official language very broadly all the village assemblies including the *sabhās* of the *brahmadēya* villages. All types of *brahmadēyas* having the *sabhās* with the exception of the *ēkabhōga* ones, which had no *sabhā,* should have been included in the term *ūr.* It will thus become evident that the term *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* indicated *brahmadēya* villages of all varieties enjoyed by the owners in common under the *gaṇa-bhōga* type of tenure.[15]

The other term *Vēṭṭappēṟu* also occurs in many inscriptions. H. Krishna Sastri while editing the stone inscription from Tirumāl-puram in the North Arcot district[16] assigned by him to the time of Madhurāntaka Uttama Chōḷa read the term correctly as above taking the medial *ē* as long, but left it without any explanation. Again while editing the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra Chōḷa I in the same number he read it as *veṭṭippēṟu*[17] supplying the medial

14. *S.I.I.,* Vol. III, pp. 402-427.

15. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, while editing the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates considered that it indicated the tax-free villages granted to Jaina teachers as distinct from the *paḷḷichchandam* villages granted to the Jaina temples, (*ibid.,* p. 389). It is true that some religious persons of the Jaina faith had the appellation *gaṇi* added to their names at the end. But such instances are known mostly from the Karṇāṭaka country and very rare, if not entirely absent in the Tamil country. Further we do not also know of any gifts of land to the Jaina teacher distinct from *paḷḷichchandam.* It may also be noted in this connection that even here the word *gaṇi* has been derived from *gaṇa* thus indicating 'belonging to the *gaṇa* i.e., the group'.

16. *Ibid.,* No. 142, p. 289.

17. *Ibid.,* p. 402.

vowel *i* even though it is absent in the plate, and interpreted it as service-*inām*.[18] We have already seen that all the other types of villages grouped along with this are connected with religion, being grants made for some religious purposes and for the attainment of merit. Similarly the *vēṭṭappēṟu* type of villages should have some connection and not be mere service-*ināms* given to officials. The word *vēṭṭal* means the performance of (*Vēdic*) sacrifices. Thus the term *vēṭṭappēṟu* would mean the tax-free gift village in connection with Vēdic sacrifices, the same as *yāga-bhōga, yajña-bhōga* or *vēḷvikuḍi*. We also know of other references in addition to the one contained in the Vēḷvikuḍi plates of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ to such gifts. Similarly also there are many villages known as Vēḷvikuḍi, e.g., Tiru--vēḷvikuḍi, in the Tañjāvūr district.

The object of the record seems to be to register the grant of land as *paḷḷichchandam* free of taxes (*paḷḷichchanda-iṟaiyili*), in favour of the Sundara Śōḻapperumpaḷḷi erected by a merchant Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ purchasing the site from the merchant gild (*nagarattār*) of Irumuḍiśoḻapuram in Umbaḷa-nāḍu. The gift property, it appears, comprised of lands situated in two different places. One such consisted of thirty *vēlis* of land comprising the entire village of *Daṉamalippūṇḍi* in the Puraṅkarambaināḍu. The other was situated in the Umbaḷa-nāḍu, as is evident from the order of proclamation issued by the assembly of that *nāḍu*, the concluding portion of which order is found on the thirteenth plate, the first available sheet in the set. The extent of the land and the place where it existed are not known. Very likely it was situated in the village where the *paḷḷi* was erected.

The *paḷḷi* was erected by Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ, a merchant belonging to merchant-guild (*nagarattār*) of Irumuḍiśōḻapuram, on the land purchased by him, evidently from the *nagarattār*, and named as Sundarachōḻapperumpaḷḷi, very likely after the reigning Chōḻa monarch. Thus the construction of the *paḷḷi* should have taken place in the time of Sundara Chōḻa also known as Parāntaka II. The grant stipulates that the village of Daṉamalippūṇḍi given as *paḷḷichchandāiṟaiyili* without the removal of the tenant (*kuḍiniṅgā*) should be enjoyed only by descendants of Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ. This clearly shows that the grant should have been made not very long

18. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

after the erection of the temple. As necessary provision for the maintenance of an institution is generally made by the founder at the time of its creation or immediately thereafter it is very likely that the grant belongs to the reign of Sundara Chōḷa himself.[19]

The Sundaraśōḷa-p-perumpaḷḷi to which the grant of *paḷḷich-chandam* had been registered in these plates was a Jaina institution. This becomes clear from the fact that the gift village was placed under the control of Śandaṇandi Bhaṭārar *alias* Maunidēvar of the Naṇdi Saṁgha, whose very name and the name of the *saṁgha* to which he belonged indicate them to be of the Jaina faith.[20]

It is also stipulated in the grant that three-fourths of the gift property was for the enjoyment of the male ascetics and the other one-fourth for the enjoyment of the female ascetics. The Jainas considered originally for various reasons that women were not fit for ascetic life and so they did not admit women in their monastic order. But they seem to have modified their view subsequently and admitted women also into the monastic order.[21] There are inscriptions which testify to the existence of female ascetics among the Jainas. An inscription[22] from Viḷāppākkam in the Walajapet taluk of the North Arcot district dated in the thirty-eighth regnal year of Parāntaka I registers the sinking of well

19. It may be observed that the name Śiṅgaḷāntakaṉ is given to one of the channels forming the boundary of the gift land in the village of Daṉamalippūṇḍi. The channel was evidently named after the title of Śiṅgaḷāntakaṉ borne by the king in whose reign it was dug. This title is generally considered as referring to Rājarāja I (*The Cōḷās* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, I Edition, Vol. I, p. 225; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 249. But from the Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff. See also his Chārāla plates in *ibid*, Vol. XXV, p. 260, verse 59) it is learnt that Parāntaka I also had the titlte, having earned it by his victory in Ceylon. It is therefore very likely that the channel owes its name to Parāntaka I.

20. On a cursory examination, depending on the mention of the Śākkiya-p-paḷḷi of Kuḻalūr, this set was originally taken as referring to the Buddhist faith and the Sundaraśōḷa -p-parumpaḷḷi as a Buddhist *vihāra*, and noticed as such in the book entitled *The story of Buddhism with special reference to South India* by A. Aiyappan and P. R. Srinivasan (published by Government of Madras).

21. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*; pp. 76-77, 168.

22. *S.I.I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 56.

there by the female ascetics Paṭṭiṉi-k-kuratti-Aḍigaḷ, the female disciple of Arishṭanēmi-piḍārar of Tiruppāṉmalai and the placing of a house and the well as the monastery for the female ascetics (*peṉ-paḷḷi*) under the protection of the twenty-four persons, evidently the Tīrthaṅkaras of the village. Another record[23] from Vēḍal in the same district states that Kanakavīra-k-kurattiyār (the female disciple of Guṇakīrtti Bhaṭāra) and the lady pupils of her following were not acceptable to the four hundred *tapasigaḷ* (*tapasvins* or the male ascetics) and that the villagers, considering Kanakavīrakkuratti as their daughter, undertook to feed and protect all the five hundred and those coming in their lineage. This will indicate that there were one hundred female ascetics as followers of Kanakavīrakkurattiyār at that place then. It can be inferred from the present grant also that the number of female ascetics attached to the Sundarachōḻa-p-perumpaḷḷi was not small as one-fourth of the gift has been set apart for their exclusive use.

The royal order for the grant of the village of Daṉamalippūṇḍi stipulates that the village should be made into a tax-free *paḷlichchandam* after removing the old tenants (*paḻaṅkuḍi-nīkki*) while the order for proclamation issued by the *nāḍu* and others declared it as a tax-free *paḷḷichchandam* without removing the tenants (*kuḍi-nīṅgā*). This may rather appear as contradictory. The stipulation that only the descendants of Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ who constructed the *paḷḷi* and made the endowment of lands after purchase from the previous owners should be the tenants cultivating the endowed land probably explains this anamoly. Evidently the royal order referred to the state of affairs prior to the purchase by the donor and the order for proclamation issued by the assembly referred to the state of affairs after the purchase was effected and the endowment was made. The provision that only the descendents of the donor should be the tenants cultivating the lands endowed to the *paḷḷi* ensures and protects, in a way, the interests of the donor and his family in the maintenance of the institution founded by him.

The mention of the temple for *Paḍāri* (Sanskrit *Bhaṭâri*) attached to the Buddhist temple (*Śākkiya-p-paḷḷi*) of Kuḻalūr as one of the land-marks in the boundaries of the gift-village Daṉamalippūṇḍi is interesting. We know of the existence of temples

23. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 92.

for *Paḍāri* of the Jaina faith from inscriptions. An inscription[24] from Tirunaṟuṅkoṇḍai in the Tirukkōvalūr taluk of the South Arcot district dated in the third regnal year of Tribhuvana-Chakravartti - Kōṉriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ identifiable with Kulōttunga Chōḷa III registers the grant of ten *vēlis* of land for the maintenance of the Jaina *paḷḷi* there and for offerings to the *Amaṉ-paḍāris* there. This clearly refers to the *paḍāris* of the Jaina persuasion.

Another record[25] from Ponnūr in the North Arcot district refers to the worship of the goddess Jvālāmālinī, also of the Jaina faith. We know of the names of some goddesses like Tārā and others worshipped by the Buddhists. But we do not have clear evidences for the existence of temples for any of them in the Tamil country. This is perhaps the first reference to the temple for the goddess *paḍāri* of the Buddhist faith in the Tamil-nāḍu.

It may be mentioned in this connection that there are *Paḍāri* temples in some villages in the Tamil districts where animal sacrifices, which have since been abolished by an Act of Legislature, were not performed even in days prior to that. In such villages generally we find another *Paḍāri* temple where animal sacrifices were used to be performed. The Tamil proverb, namely *oṇḍa vanda Piḍāri ūr-Piḍāriyai-t-turattiyadām* (the *Piḍāri* who came seeking shelter drove away the village-*Piḍāri*) is usually said to explain this peculiarity. For example we may cite the two *Piḍāri* temples in the village of Uḍaiyāḷūr, about four miles to the south of Kumbakōṇam. The village, referred to in inscriptions as Śiva-pādaśēkharamaṅgalam, named after the title *Śivapādaśēkhara* of Rājarāja Chōḷa I, lies about one mile to south-east of Paḻaiyāṟu which, though now a very small village, had once been the capital of the Chōḷas. Most pobably it was once a subub, if not foming part, of the capital. A temple for the goddess Pāṟkuḷattu Ammaṉ, popularly called Pāṟkuḷatti or Pākkuḷatti (She of the milk-pond), is situated very close to the residential quarters, on the southern bank of the tank lying to the east. This is said to be the older of the two and no animal sacrifice used to be made there. The other for the goddess Śella-mākāḷi, popularly known as Śelli-

24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1012, also *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 72.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 201-03. See also P. B. Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-48.

Amman, is situated about four furlongs to the north of the village on the bund of the river Muḍikoṇḍāṉ very near the local burning ghat. This goddess is considered as a new-comer ousting the other from her legitimate place and is ferocious and powerful and propitiated very largely by the villagers. Animal sacrifices were used to be made only in this temple. The annual festival of this goddess is celebrated in the month of Paṅguṉi, and the third Wednesday of the month is the important day when the images are taken in procession round the streets of the village. It may be interesting also to note that the incident, namely the episode of the new-comer driving out the previous goddess is enacted in taking out the image of the old goddess Pāṟkuḷattu Ammaṉ for procession that day. While taking out the images of the two deities in procession round the streets of the village both of them are kept side by side in a line and when this is not possible the Pāṟkuḷattu Ammaṉ as the older of the two has the precedence. During procession, animal sacrifices were used to be made at certain fixed points in the village and these were made only in front of the new goddess Śelli-Ammaṉ. On such occasions if the images of the two deities were taken side by side in a line, the image of Pāṟkuḷattu-Ammaṉ was slightly pushed behind or turned aside so as not to witness the animal sacrifice. This would clearly indicate that such sacrifices were prohibited in front of that deity. Evidently it is a vestige of the older days when that goddess was worshipped by persons who were against the practice of animal sacrifices and they could only be the Buddhists or the Jainas. Very likely such *Piḍāri* temples originally belonged to those faiths, some of them to the Buddhists and some others to the Jainas.

TEXT

Thirteenth plate—First side

1. ṟāvadāgavum [|*] ivar-vaḻi māṇākkichchikaḷukku nālu kūṟ-iṭṭa oru kūṟāvadā
2. gavum [|*] Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ vaḻiyilārkkē kuḍi-nīṅgā-p-Paḷḷichchandam=ā
3. vadāgavum [|*] ivarkaḷē ip-paḷḷiyuḍaiyārkku-k-kuḍi śeyvadāgavum [|*] ip-
4. paḍi piḍi śūḻndu śīmai terittu-k-kalluṅ-kaḷḷiyu-nāṭṭi
5. iṟaiyili paḷḷichchandamāga aṟaiyōlai śeydu kuḍut-
6. tōm Um [pa*] ḷa nāṭṭu nāṭṭōmum in-nāṭṭu brahmadēyaṅ-galilo-

7. mum dēvadāṉa-p-paḻḻichchanda-k-kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭilōmum Iruma-
8. ḍi śōḻapurattu nagarattōmum || iva[r*]kaḷ=eva eḻudiṉēṉ U
9. m [pa] ḷanāṭṭu-kuṉṟūr Araiyaṉ Maṟaikkāḍaṉ=ēṉ ivai eṉ-ṉ-eḻut
10. tu || ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Umpaḷanāṭṭu Iḷāgattu ūraṉ -Koṟṟaṉ=ēṉ
11. ivai eṉ-ṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭṭi k-koḍuttēṉ Umpaḷa-nāṭṭu-t-Ti-

Thirteenth plate — Second side

12. ṭṭaichchēri-ch Chāttaṉ Mādēvaṉ=en ivai eṉ=ṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi o-
13. ṭṭi-k-kuduttēṉ Umpaḷa-nāṭṭu-k- Kuṉṟūr-ch-Chāttam-Bhaṭṭaśāli=yēṉ
14. ivai[26] eṉṉeḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭṭik-kuḍuṭṭēṉ Umpaḷa
15. nāṭṭu Maṟār Nāgaṉ = Rāyaṉ=ēṉ ivai eṉṉ-eḻuttu || ip-
16. paḍi oṭṭi-k-kuduttēṉ [v] āṇūr Rēvaṉ = Rāḻi-yēn ivai
17. eṉṉ-eḻuttu|| ippaḍi oṭṭi-k-kuḍuttēṉ Tagaṭṭūṟ Kiḻava-
18. ṉ Nakkan Rēvaṉ=ēṉ ivai eṉ-ṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭ-
19. ṭi-k-kuḍuttēṉ Kiḻiyūr kiḻavaṉ Amalaṉ-Muṇḍaṉ-ēṉ=i-
20. vai eṉ-ṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭṭiṉēṉ Tagaṭṭūṟ Nāgaṉ = Adiyaṉ =ēṉ
21. ivai eṉṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭṭik-kuḍuttēṉ Umpa [ḷa*] nāṭṭu Kuḍapuḷa
22. m=uḍaiyāṉ Kāḍaṉ Sāttaṉ=ēṉ ivai eṉ- ṉ-eḻuttu || ippaḍi.

Fifteenth plate—First side

1. iv=vāṇḍu Puṟaṅkarambai nāṭṭu naṭṭōmukkum innāṭṭu Bra-
2. hmatēya-k-kiḻava [r*] kaḻilōmukkum dēvadāna-p-paḻḻich-chanda-k-ka
3. ṇimuṟṟūṭṭu Vēṭṭappēṟṟilōmukkum Uḍaiyār tirumugam vara toḻudu
4. talaimēl-vaittu Umpaḷanāṭṭu Irumuḍichchōḻapurattu naga-rattāri-
5. ḍai Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ vilaikoṇḍu eḍuppitta Sundarachōḻap-
6. perumpaḻḻikku bhōgamāga-p- Puṟaṅkarambai nāṭṭu Dana-valippū-

26. The letters *ivai* are written over an erasure.

7. ṇḍi ūr-aḍaṅgal nilaṉ muppattiṟṟu-vēliyum ūraḍaṅgal paḻaṅ-
8. kuḍi-nīkki paḻḻichchanda iṟaiyili yāga śīmai terittu-p-pi
9. ḍi śūḻndu kaḻḻum kaḻḻiyu-nāṭṭi ellai territtu-k-kuḍukka-veṉṟu variyi-
10. l-iṭṭapaḍi aṟaiyōlaiyum nāṭṭomukku śrīmukamum vara innāṭṭu vagai-
11. śeyginṟa Sembiyaṉ Brahma-mārājaṉ Kaṇkāṇiyal ellai terit—

Fifteenth plate—Second side

12. tu [|*] kīḻpāṟk=ellai Vaṇḍāḻai Vēḷūr-k-kūṟṟattu Brah-matēyam Nāraṇa-
13. maṅgalattu mēlpāḍe-y-ōḍiṉa Muḻḻivāyiṉ kīḻ kaṟaikku mē[ṟ*]kku
14. m Nāraṇamaṅgalattu ellaikku mē[ṟ*]kkum idaṉinṟum Muḻḻivāyiṉ kī-
15. ḻkaraiyē kiḻakku nōkki-pōy Nāraṇamaṅgalattu teṉ
16. nellaiyē niṉṟa mā-vuṭppaḍat-teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṇiṉ
17. ṟum teṟku nōkki-p-pōy Nāraṇamaṅgalatt=ellaikku mē [r*]
18. kk=ṉṉum idaṉinṟum Śiṅgaḷāntakaṉ vāy talaiyiṉ
19. kīḻ pakkamē niṉṟa teṅkukku mē[ṟ*]kkum idaṉinṟu ich=chiṅga—
20. ḷāntaka-ṉaḍuve teṟkku nōkki iḻiñju ēṟi-t-teṟku-nōkki-ch-che-
21. ṉṟu mē [ṟ*] kk=iṉṉum idaṉinṟum iñ-Ñāraṇamaṅgalattu ellaiyi-
22. ṉṉ=aḍaivēy teṉ-mē [ṟ*]kku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu vaḍakk=iṉṉum idani

Eighteenth plate—First side

1. y vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk-iṉṉum idaṉinṟum kiḻakk=ōḍi Aṭṭi-
2. yūr-t-teṉṉellai varappi-ṉaḍuvēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟ-
3. kk = iṉṉum idaṉinṟum Aṭṭiyūr = ellaiyiṉ kīḻpakkamē teṟkku nō-
4. kki it-Taṉamalippūṇḍi-ch-cheykaḻukku-p-pāyum vāykkā-
5. liṉ mēlkaraiyēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu iv vāykkā-
6. l=uṭppaṭa-k-kiḻakk-iṉṉum idaṉinṟu kiḻakku nōkki-t- Ta-
7. ṉamalippūṇḍi-ch-cheykaḷ pāyum vāykkālukku-vaḍavaram-

8. bēy-k-kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu
9. ivv-Aṭṭiyūr mēl=ellaiyi-ṉaḍuvēy teṟkku nōkki-p-pōn-
10. du mēṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭiyūr-t-teṉṉellai varambiṉ-
11. ṉāḍu varambēy kiḻakku-nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk-iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum.

Eighteenth plate—Second side

12. Aṭṭiyūr[27]=ellaiyiṉ kīḻpakkamē teṟkku nōkki-y-ōdiṉa vāyk-kāli-
13. ṉ mēlkaraiyēy vaḍakku-nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kīḻakk-iṉṉum idaṉiṉ-
14. ṟum kiḻakku nōkki-p-pōnda vāykkālukku naḍuvēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-
15. cheṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu ivv=Aṭṭiyūr mēl=e
16. llai=uṭch-chiṟuvarambi=ṉaḍuvēy teṟkku nōkki-ch-cheṉ
17. ṟu mēṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭiyūr-t-teṉṉ-ellai
18. varambiṉaḍuvēy kiḻakku nōkki=ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉu-
19. m idaṉiṉṟu Aṭṭiyūr-k-kīḻ-ellaiyiṉ kīḻ-varambi-ṉaḍuve-
20. y vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum it-Taṉamalip-
21. pūṇḍi ch-cheykaḷukku-p-pāyum vāykkālai naḍu-viṭṭu vaḍakku nōkki-ch-che-
22. ṉṟ = eṟi-k-kiḻak-iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭiyūr-k-kīḻ = ellaiyiṉ-naḍu

Nineteenth plate—First side

23. varambēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻak=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu Aṭṭiyū-
24. r-t-teṉṉellaiyi-ṉaḍu varambēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk=i
25. ṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭiyūr mel=ellaiyi-ṉaḍu varambēy
26. teṟkku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu mēṟkku-iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu it-Ta-
27. ṉamalippūṇḍi-ch-cheykaḷukku-p-pāyum vāykkāli-ṉaḍuve
28. y mēṟkku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu vaḍak-iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu Aṭṭi
29. yūr-t-teṟkku nōkki-y-ōḍiṉa uṭchchiṟu vāykkāli-ṉaḍuve-
30. y teṟkku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu mēṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum
31. Aṭṭiyūr-t-teṉṉellaiyiṉ naḍuvarambēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-

27. The letter *ka* was originally written here and later on corrected as *ṟa*.

32. che<u>nr</u>u teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭyūr-k-kīḻ=ellaiyiṉ ṉaḍu
33. varambēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu Aṭṭi-

Nineteenth plate—Second side

34. yūr teṉṉellaiyiṉaḍuvarambēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉ-
35. ṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Aṭṭiyūr-k-kiḻ=eḻḻaiyiṉ ṉaḍu
36. varambēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu it-Ta-
37. ṉamalippūṇḍi-ch-cheykaḷukku-p-pāy[u*]m vāykkāli = ṉaḍu
38. vē mēṟkku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu vaḍakk-iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu
39. m Aṭṭiyūr-k-kīḻ=ellai-t-taḻai varambi=ṉaḍuvēy vaḍakku nō-
40. kki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakkiṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum Kuḷalūr vāḻappa-
41. gai-k-koṭṭagameṉṟu pēr kūvappaḍum koṭṭaga-k-karaiyēy
42. kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum it-Taṉamalaippūṇ-
43. ḍi-k-kuḷam = uṭppaḍa-k-kuḷattiṉ vaḍakaraiyēy naḍu varambu kiḻakku nōkka
44. ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu vaḍakiḻakku nōkki-p-pōy-k-kiḻak-

Twentyfirst plate—First side

1. śēṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum Kuḻalūr Śākkiyappaḻḻi ellaik-ka-
2. raiyēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum ivv=ellai
3. kkaraiyēy kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu Kuḻalūr Śākkiyappaḻḻi-
4. yap-paḍāri kōyiliṉ teṉpakkamēy aḍaivēy
5. kiḻakku nōkkiṉ-k-karaiyē śeṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum iv-
6. v=ellaik-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk-iṉṉu
7. m idaṉiṉṟum kiḻakku nōkki ivv=ellaik-karaiyē
8. śeṉṟu teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum vaḍakku nōkki p-
9. pōy-k-Kuḻalūr Śākkiyappaḻḻiyiṉ talaivāy-p-pēṟṟin kīḻ
10. varambēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakku=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟu
11. m Śākkiyappaḻḻiyiṉ talaivāyppēṟṟiṉ teṉ-varambēy ki-

Twentyfirst plate—Second side

12. ḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu teṟkk-=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum kiḻakku ṉō-
13. kki Muḻḻivāy-k-kaṟaiyē śeṉṟ=ēri-t-teṟkk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉ

14. ṟum vaḍakku-nōkki-k-Kuḻalūr-ch-Chākkiya-ppaḷḷiyiṉ kīḻai-k-kamukan
15. tōṭṭattiṉ kīlpāḍē-y-ōḍiṉa vāykkāl=uṭppaḍa vaḍa-
16. kki-ch-cheṉṟu kiḻakk=iṉṉum idaṉiṉṟum iv=vā-
17. ykkāliṉ mēlkaraiyēy vaḍakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu Muḷḷi
18. vāy nīrōḍu kālukkē-yiḻindu Vaṇḍālai-Vēḷūr-k-kūṟṟa
19. ttu Vēḷūr vāyttalaikke śeṉṟ=ēṟi-kiḻakk-iṉṉum i-
20. daṉiṉṟum kiḻakku nōkki-p-pōy Muḷḷivāy=iṭppaḍa Nāraṇa-maṅgalattu
21. ellaikku-t-teṟkkum mērkkum Muḷḷivāy-k-kīḻāraiyēy teṉ-
22. kiḻakku nōkki-ch-cheṉṟu muṉ-tuḍaṅ-giṉaviḍattukkēy śeṉṟu kūḍi it-

Twentythird plate—First side

1. ḍi nilaṉ muppadiṟṟu vēliyum nāṭṭōm=irundu sīmai terich-chuk-ka
2. lluṅ-kaḷḷiyu-nāṭṭi aṟaiyōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Puṟaṅkaram
3. baināṭṭu nāṭṭōmum Brahmateyak-kiḻavargaḷilōmum Dēvādaṉa
4. p-Paḷḷichchanda-k-Kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu Vēṭṭapperṟilōmum [|*]
5. ippaḷḷichchandam muppadiṟṟu vēliyum Nandi sam
6. kattu Śantaṇanti Bhaṭārarāṉa Mauṉidēvaṟkk=āgavum [|*] i
7. p-paḷḷichchanda nilam=āṉa muppadiṟṟu vēliyilum nā
8. lat-t-oṉṟu peṇṇaḍigaḷmārkk=āgavum [|*] mūṉṟu kūṟu
9. āṇ=aḍigaḷmārkk=āgavum [|*] Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ vaḷiyilark-kēy kuḍi-nī
10. ṅga-paḷḷichchandam-āgavum [|*] ip-pariśu aṟaiyōlai śeydu-ku-
11. ḍuttōm Puṟaṅkarambai nāṭṭu nāṭṭōm [|*] ivarkaḷ=ēva-eḷu-

Twentythird plate—First side

12. diṉēṉ Kuḻalūr madhyastaṉ magaṉ Nāgaṉ Kuḷiri-y-āna Kuḻalūr-p-
13. Pēriḷamai-p-peruṅkāvidiyēṉ-ivai eṉṉ=eḻuttu||
14. ippaḍi oṭṭiṉēṉ Kuḻalūr=uḍaiyāṉ Nakkaṉ Guṇaneṟiyēṉ i
15. vai y=eṉṉeḻuttu || ippaḍi oṭṭiṉeṉ Pāppan-

16. dai[28] Pūdi Vāṉaṉ=ēṉ ‖ ippaḍi y=oṭṭiṉēṉ Niṟṟaḷi Kūḍat-
17. tēṉ ivai y=eṉṉēḻuttu ‖ ippaḍi oṭṭiṉeṉ Kuḻalū
18. r=uḍaiyāṉ Niṟṟali Dēvaṉ=ēṉ ivai y=eṉṉeḻuttu ‖
19. ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Puṟaṅkarambai nāṭṭu-t-Tēvadānaṅ-Kaḷa-
20. ppāḻ sabhai paṇikka peruṅkuṟiyil=irund=eḻutiṉēṉ Vēḷ Nārāya
21. ṇaṉ eḻuttu ‖ ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Puṟaṅkarembai nāṭṭu-p-Perum-bal Marudū
22. r-p-perunkuṟi paṇikka y=eḻudiṉēṉ madhyastaṉ Brahma-priyaṉ magaṉ To-

Thirteenth plate—First side

1. ருவதாகவும் [|*] இவர் வழி மாணுக்கிச்சிகளுக்கு நாலு கூறிட்ட ஒரு கூறுவதா
2. கவும்[|*]செலெட்டி குடியன் வழியிலார்க்கெ குடி நீங்காப் பள்ளிச் சந்தமா
3. வதாகவும் [|*] இவர்களெ இப்பள்ளியுடையார்க்குக் குடி செய்வதாகவும் [|*] இப்
4. படி பிடி சூழ்ந்து ஸீமை தெரித்துக் கலனுங் கள்ளியுநாட்டி
5. இறையிலி பள்ளிச் சந்தமாக அறையொலை செய்து குடுத்தெ
6. தாம் உம்[ப*]ள நாட்டு நாட்டொமும் இந்நாட்டு ஸுஹூ க்ஷேபங்களிலொ
7. மும் தெவதானப் பள்ளிச் சந்தக் கணிமுற்றூட்டிலொமும் இரும
8. டி சொழபுரத்து நகரத்தொமும் ‖ இவ[ர்*]களெவ எழிதி னென் உ
9. ம்[ப*]ள நாட்டுக் குன்றூர் அரையன் மறைக்காடனென் இவை என்னெழுத்
10. து ‖ இப்படி அறிவென் உம்பள நாட்டு இளாகத்து ஊரங் கொற்ற னென்
11. இவை என்னெழுத்து ‖ இப்படி ஒட்டிக் கொடுத்தென் உம்பள நாட்டுத் தி

Thirteenth plate—Second side

12. ட்டைச் செரிச் சாத்தன் மாதெவனென் இவை என் னெழுத்து ‖ இப்படி ஒ
13. ட்டிக்குடுத்தென் உம்பளநாட்டுக் குன்றூர்ச் சாத்தம் பட்ட சாலி யென்

28. Of the two *kombus* or the medial *e* sign to make up the medial sign for *ai*, one is written at the end of the previous line and the other here.

14. இவை என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டிக்குடுத்தென் உம்பள
15. நாட்டு மரூர் நாகனருயனென் இவை என்னெழுத்து || இப்
16. படி ஒட்டிக்குடுத்தென் [வ]ாணூர் ரெவன்ருழியென் இவை
17. என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி [ஒட்]டிக் குடுத்தென் தகட்டூர்க் கிழவ
18. ன் நக்கன் ரெவனென் இவை என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்
19. டிக் குடுத்தென் கிளியூர் கிழவன் அமலன் முண்டனென் இ
20. வை என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டினென் தகட்டூர் நாக நதியனென்
21. இவை என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டிக் குடுத்தென் உம்ப[ள*] நாட்டு குடபுல
22. முடையான் காடன் சாத்தனென் இவை என்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டி

Fifteenth plate—First side

1. இவ்வாண்டு புறங்கரம்பை நாட்டு நாட்டொமுக்கும் இந்நாட்டு ப்ர
2. ஹ்மதெயக் கிழவ[ர்*]களிலொமுக்கும் தெவதானப் பள்ளிச் சந்தக் க
3. ணி முற்றூட்டு வெட்டப் பெற்றிலொமுக்கும் உடையார் திருமுகம் வர தொழுது
4. தலைமெல் வைத்து உம்பளநாட்டு இருமுடிச் சொழபுரத்து நகரத்தாரி
5. டை செலெட்டி குடியன் விலைகொண்டு எடுப்பித்த சுந்தர சொழப்
6. பெரும் பள்ளிக்கு பொகமாகப் புறங்கரம்பைநாட்டு தனவலிப் பூ
7. ண்டி ஊரடங்கல் நிலன் முப்பதிற்று வெலியும் ஊரடங்கல் பழங்
8. குடிநீக்கி பள்ளிச்சந்த இறையிலியாக ஸீமை தெரித்துப் பி
9. டி சூழ்ந்து கல்லுங் கள்ளியுநாட்டி எல்லை தெரித்துக் குடுக்கவென்று வரியி
10. லிட்டபடி அறையொலையும் நாட்டொமுக்கு ஸ்ரீமுகமும் வர இந்நாடு வகை
11. செய்கின்ற செம்பியன்ப்ரஹ்மமாராயன் கண்காணியால் எல்லைதெரித்

Fifteenth plate—Second side

12. து [|*] கீழ்ப்பாற்கெல்லை வண்டாழை வெளூர்க் கூற்றத்து ப்ரஹ்மதெயம் நாரண
13. மங்கலத்து மெல் பாடெயொடின முள்ளிவாயின் கீழ் கரைக்கு மெ[ற்*]க்கு

14. ம் நாரண மங்கலத்து எல்லைக்கு மெ[ற்*]க்கும் இதினின்
றும் முள்ளிவாயின் கீ
15. ழ் கரையெ கிழக்கு நொக்கிப் பொய் நாரண மங்கலத்து
தென் ெ
17. றும் தெற்கு நொக்கிப் பொய் நாரண மங்கலத் தெல்லைக்கு
16. னல்லையெ நின்ற மாவுட்ப்படத் தெற்க்கின்றும் இதனின்
மெ[ற்*]
18. க்கின்னும் இதனின்றும் சிங்களாந்தகன் வாய்தலையின்
19. கீழ் பக்கமெநின்ற தெங்குக்கு மெ[ற்*]க்கும் இதினின்று
இச்சிங்க
20. ளாந்தகனடுவெ தெற்கு நொக்கி இழிஞ்சுஎறித் தெற்கு
நொக்கிச் செ
21. ன்று மெ[ற்*]க்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் இஞ்ஞாரண
மங்கலத்து எல்லையி
22. ன்னடை வெய் தென்மெ[ற்*]க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று
வடக்கின்றும் இதநி

Eighteenth plate—First side

1. ய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்றும்
கிழக்கொடி அட்டி
2. யுர்த் தென்னெல்லை அட்டி வரம்பினடுவெய் கிழக்கு
நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்
3. க்கின்னும் இதினின்று அட்டியுரெல்லையின் கீழ்பக்கமெ
தெற்கு நொ
4. க்கி இத்தனமலிப்பூண்டிச் செய்களுக்குப் பாயும் வாய்க்கா
5. லின் மெல்கரையெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று
இவ்வாய்க்கா
6. லுட்ப் படக் கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்று கிழக்கி நொக்கித்
த
7. னமலிப் பூண்டிச் செய்கள் பாயும் வாய்க்காலுக்கு
வடவரம்
8. பெய்கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்கின்னும் இதினின்று
9. இவ்வட்டியூர் மெலெல்லை யினினடுவெய் தெற்க்குநொக்கிப்
பொந்
10. து மெற்க்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் அட்டியூர்த் தென்னெல்லை
வரம்பின்
11. னடு வரம்பெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும்
இதினின்றும்

Eighteenth plate—Second side

12. அட்டியூ ரெல்லையின் கிழ்பக்கமெ தெற்க்கு நொக்கி
யொடின வாய்க்காலி

13. ன் மெல்கரையெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின் னும் இதினின்
14. று கிழக்கு நொக்கிப் பொந்த வாய்க்காலுக்கு நடுவெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச்
15. சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இதனின்று இவ்வட்டியூர் மெலெ
16. ல்லைஉட்ச் சிறுவரம்பினடுவெய் தெற்க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்
17. று மெற்க்கின்னும் இதனின்றும் அட்டியூர்த் தென்னெல்லை
18. வரம்பினடு வெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்க்கின்னு
19. ம் இதனின்று அட்டியூர்க் கிழெல்லையின் கீழ வரம்பினடுவெ
20. வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதனின்றும் இத்தனமலிப்
21. பூண்டிச் செய்களுக்குப் பாயும் வாய்க்காலை நடுவிட்டு வடக்கு நொக்கிச் செ
22. ன்றெறிக் கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் அட்டியூர்க் கீழெல் லையின் னடு

Nineteenth plate—First side

23. வரம்பெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதனின்று அட்டியூ
24. ர்த் தென்னெல் லையினடு வரம்பெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்க்கி
25. ன்னும் இதனின்றும் அட்டியூர் மெலெல்லையினடுவரம்பெய்
26. தெற்க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று மெற்க்கின்னும் இதனின்று இத்த
27. னமலிப் பூண்டிச் செய்களுக்குப் பாயும் வாய்க்காலினடுவெ
28. ய் மெற்க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று வடக்கின்னும் இதினின்று அட்டி
29. யூர்த் தெற்க்கு நொக்கி யொடின உட்ச்சிறு வாய்க்காலி னடுவெ
30. ய் தெற்க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று மெற்க்கின்னும் இதனின்றும்
31. அட்டியூர்த் தென்னெல்லையின் னடுவரம்பெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் ெ
32. சன்று தெற்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் அட்டியூர்க் கீழெல்லை யின்னடு
33. வரம்பெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதனின்று அட்டி

Nineteenth plate—Second side

34. யூர் தென்னெல்லையினடு வரம்பெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்
35. று தெற்க்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் அட்டியூர்க் கீழெல்லையின் னடு

36. வரம்பெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்று இத்த
37. னமலிப் பூண்டிச் செய்களுக்குப் பாயம் வாய்க்காலினடு
38. வெய் மெற்க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று வடக்கின்னும் இதினின்று
39. ம் அட்டியூர்க் கீழெல்லேத் தாழை வரம்பினடுவெய் வடக்கு நொ
40. க்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் குழலூர் வாழ்ப்ப
41. கைக் கொட்டகமென்று பெர் கூவப்ப்டும் கொட்டகக் கரையெய்
42. கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் இத்தன மலிப்பூண்
43. டிக்குளமுட்ப்படக் குளத்தின் வடகரையெய் நடுவரம்பு கிழக்கு நொக்க
44. ச் சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இதினின்று வடக்கிழக்கு நொக்கிப் பொய்க் கிழக்

Twentyfirst plate—First side

1. சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் குழலூர்ச் சாக்கியப் பள்ளி எல்லேக் க
2. ரை யெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இவ்வெல்லே
3. க் கரையெய் கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று குழலூர்ச் சாக்கியப் பள்ளி
4. யப் படாரி கொயிலின் தென்பக்கமெய் அடைவெய்
5. கிழக்கு நொக்கிக் கரையெ சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இவ்
6. வெல்லேக் கரையெ வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னு
7. ம் இதநி ன்றுங் கிழக்கு நொக்கி இவ்வெல்லேக் கரையெ
8. சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் வடக்கு நொக்கிப்
9. பொய்க் குழலூர்ச் சாக்கியப் பள்ளித் தலேவாய்ப் பெற்றின் கிழ்
10. வரம்பெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்று
11. ம் சாக்கியப் பள்ளித் தலேவாய்ப் பெற்றின் தென் வரம் பெய்கி

Twentyfirst plate—Second side

12. ழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று தெற்க்கின்னும் இதினின்றுங் கிழக்கு நொ
13. க்கி முள்ளி வாய்க் கரையெ சென்றெறித் தெற்க்கின்னும் இதனின்

14. றும் வடக்கு நொக்கிக் குழலூர்ச் சாக்கியப் பள்ளியின் கீழைக் கமுகந்
15. தொட்டத்தின் கீழ்பாடெயொடின வாய்க்காலுட்பட வட
16. க்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று கிழக்கின்னும் இதினின்றும் இவ்வா
17. ய்க்காலின் மெல் கரையெய் வடக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று முள்ளி
18. வாய் நீரொடு காலுக் கெயிழிந்து வண்டாழை வெளூர்க் கூற்ற
19. த்து வெளூர் வாய்த்தலைக்கெ சென்றெறிக் கிழக்கின்னும் இ
20. தனின்றுங் கிழக்கு நொக்கிப் பொய் முள்ளி வாயுட்பட நாரண மங்கலத்து
21. எல்லைக்குத் தெற்க்கும் மெற்க்கும் முள்ளிவாய்க் கீழாரை யெய்தென்
22. கிழக்கு நொக்கிச் சென்று முன்துடங்கின விடத்துக்கெய் சென்று கூடி இத்

Twentythird plate—First side

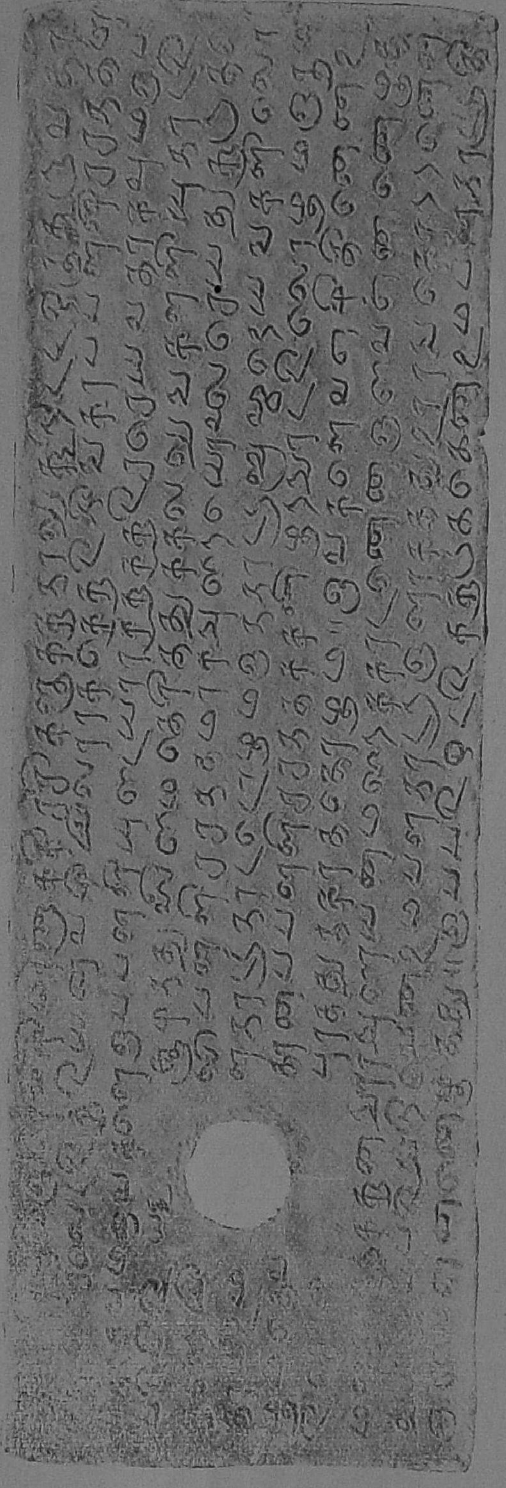
1. டி நிலந் முப்பதிற்று வெலியும் நாட்டொமிருந்து ஸீமை தெரிச்சுக் க
2. ல்லுங் கள்ளியு நாட்டி அறையொலை செய்து குடுத்தொம் புறங்கரம்
3. பை நாட்டு நாட்டொமும் ஸஹ தெயக் கிழவர் களொமும் தெவதான
4. ப் பள்ளிச் சந்தக்கணிமுற்றூட்டு வெட்டப் பெற்றி லொமும்[|*]
5. இப்பள்ளிச் சந்தம் முப்பதிற்று வெலியும் நந்தி ஸம்
6. கத்து ஸஙகணஜி ஷடாரரா நஜௌநி தெவர்க்காகவும் [|*]இ
7. ப் பள்ளிச் சந்த நிலமான முப்பதிற்று வெலியிலும் நா
8. லத் தொன்று பெண்ணடிகள் மார்க்காகவும் [|*] மூந்று கூறு
9. ஆண்டிகள் மார்க்காகவும்[|*] செலெட்டி குடியன் வழியி லார்க் கெய்குடி நீ
10. ங்காப் பள்ளிச் சந்தமாகவும் [|*] இப்பரிசு அறையொலை செய்து கு
11. டுத்தொம் புறங்கரம்பை நாட்டு நாட்டொம் [|*] இவர் களெவ எழு

Twentythird plate—Second side

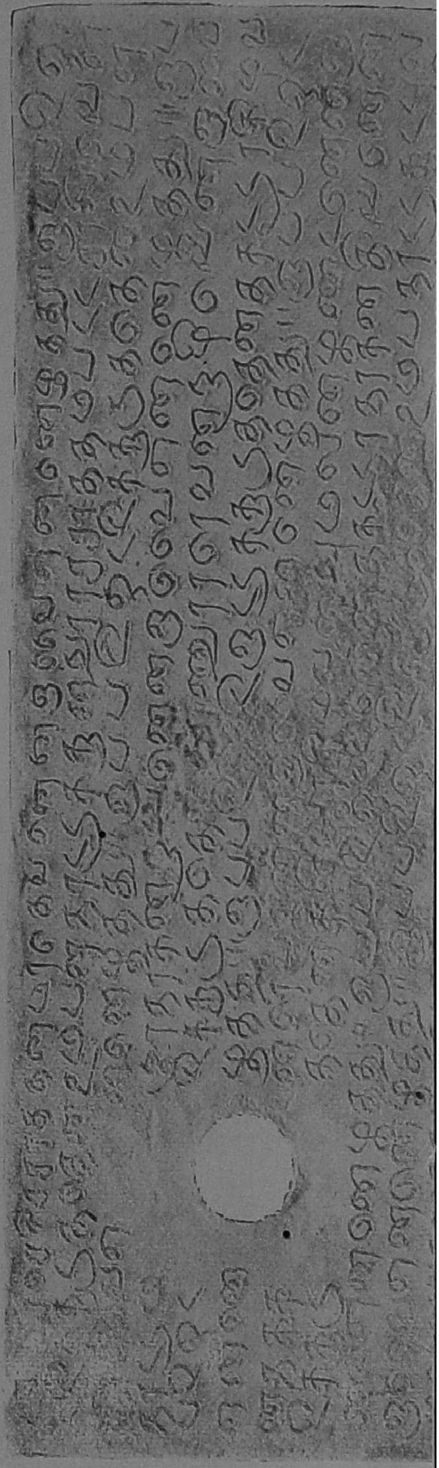
12. திளென் குழலூர் ஶ்ரீகிருஷ்ண மகன் நாகன் குளிரியான குழலூர்ப்
13. பெரிளமைப் பெருங் காவிதியென் இவை என்னெழுத்து ||
14. இப்படி ஒட்டினென் குழலூருடையான் நக்கன் குண நெறியென் இ
15. வை யென்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டினென் பாப்பந் செ
16. தெபூதி வானனென் || இப்படி யொட்டினென் நிற்றளி கூடத்
17. தென் இவை யென்னெழுத்து || இப்படி ஒட்டினென் குழலூ
18. ருடையான் நிற்றளி தெவனென் இவை யென்னெழுத்து ||
19. இப்படி அறிவென் புறங்கரம்பை நாட்டுத் தெவதாநங்கள
20. ப் பாழ்ஸஸஹ பணிக்க பெருங்குறியிலிருந் தெழுதினென் வெள்நாராய
21. ணன் எழுத்து || இப்படி யறிவென் புறங்கரம்பை நாட்டுப் பெரும்பல் மருதூ
22. ர்ப் பெருங்குறி பணிக்க வெழுதினென் ஶ்ரீகிருஷ்ண ப ஹ வி யன் மகன் தொ

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

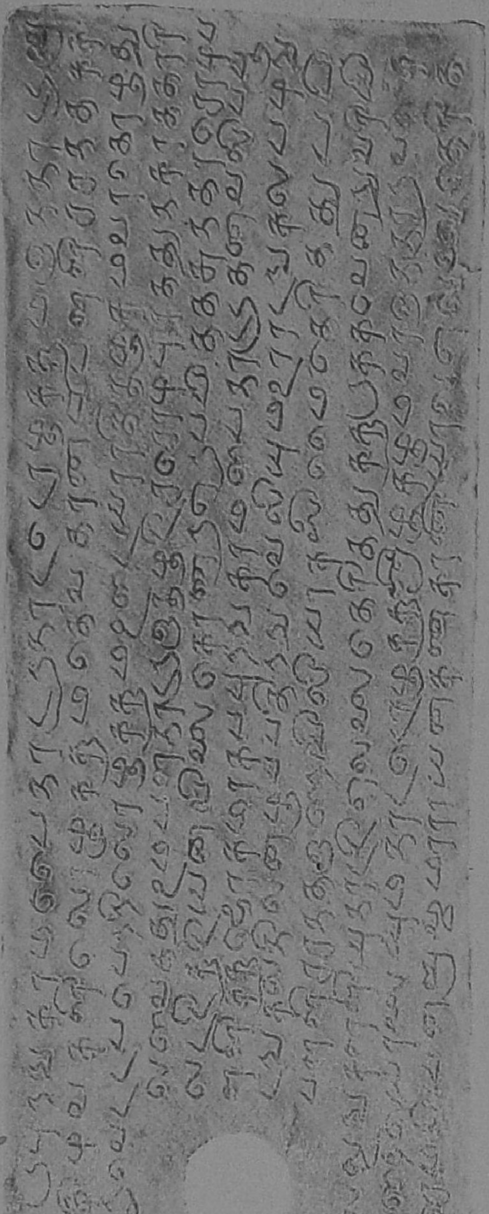
Thirteenth plate: The female disciples in the lineage of the person named earlier are to enjoy one-fourth (of the gifted property). Only the descendants of Śeleṭṭi Kuḍiyan̲ are to enjoy (the property) as Kuḍiniṅgā-p-paḻḻichchandam and they alone are to serve as tenants (*kuḍi*) to the god (Uḍaiyār) of this *paḻḻi*. Thus we, the assembly (*nāṭṭōm*) of the Umbaḷa-nāḍu, and the assemblies of the *Brahmadēyas* and those of the *Devadāna*, *Paḻḻichchanda* and *Kaṇimur̲r̲ūṭṭu* villages of the *nāḍu* and the merchant guild (*nagarattōm*) of Irumaḍiśōḻapuram, issued the order of proclamation (*ar̲aiyōlai*) as *paḻḻichchandam* after circumambulating the boundaries with the female elephants fixing the boundaries planting stones and milk-bush. This was written at their bidding by Araiyan̲ Mar̲aikkāḍan of Kun̲r̲ūr in Umbaḷa-nāḍu. The signatures of the following persons are also added to it in agreement. (1) Ūraṅ-kor̲r̲an̲ of Iḻāgam in Umbaḷa-nāḍu, (2) Śāttan̲ Mādēvan̲ of Tiṭṭaichchēri in Umbaḷa-nāḍu, (3) Śāttam-Bhaṭṭaśāli of Kun̲r̲ūr in Umbaḷa-nāḍu, (4) Nagan̲-Rāyan̲ of Mar̲ār in Umbaḷa-nāḍu, (5) Rēvan̲-Rāḻi of (V) ānūr, (6) Nakkan̲-Rēvan̲, the owner (*kiḻavan̲*) of Tagaṭṭūr, (7) Amulan̲ Muṇḍan the owner (*kiḻavan̲*)



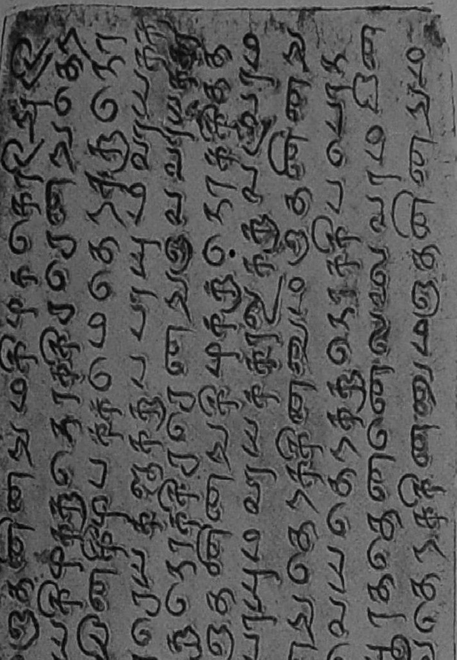
13th plate—1st side: *Lines* 1 to 11



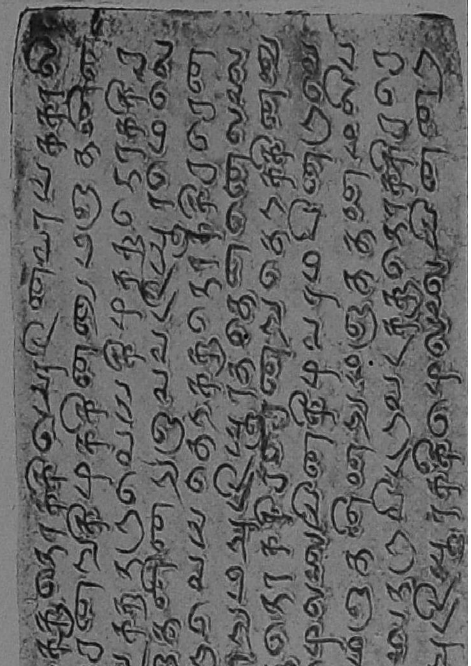
13th plate—2nd side: *Lines* 12 to 22



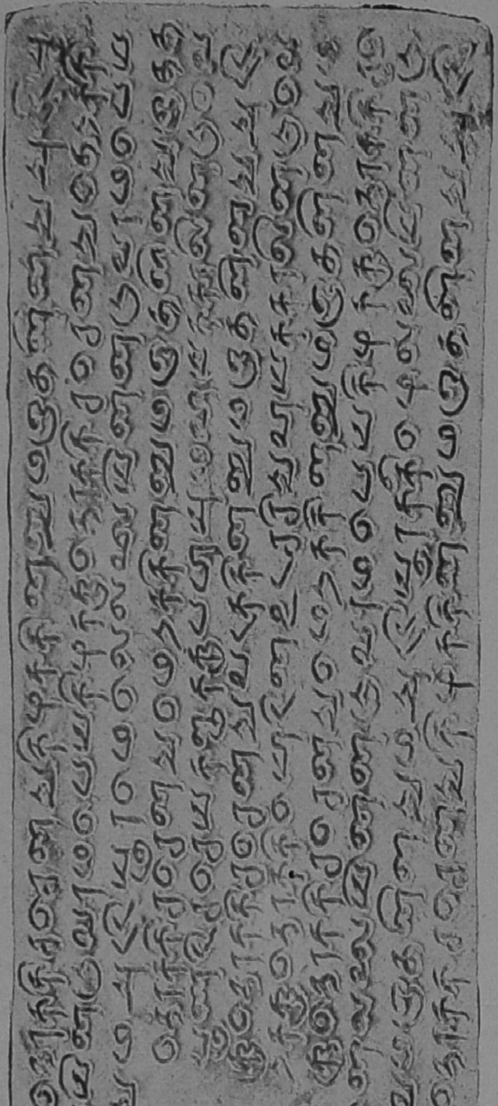
15th plate—2nd side : *Lines* 12 to 22

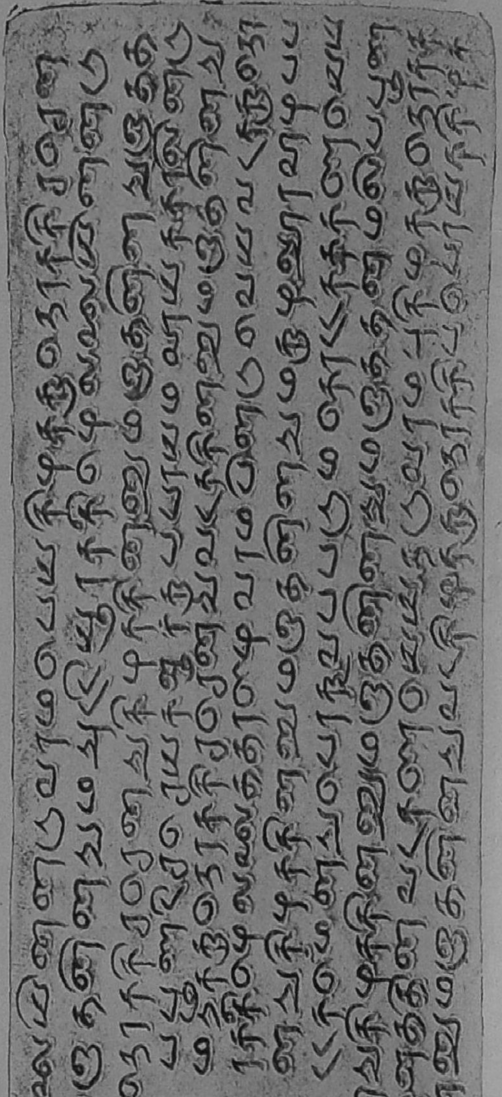


18th plate—1st side : *Lines* 1 to 11

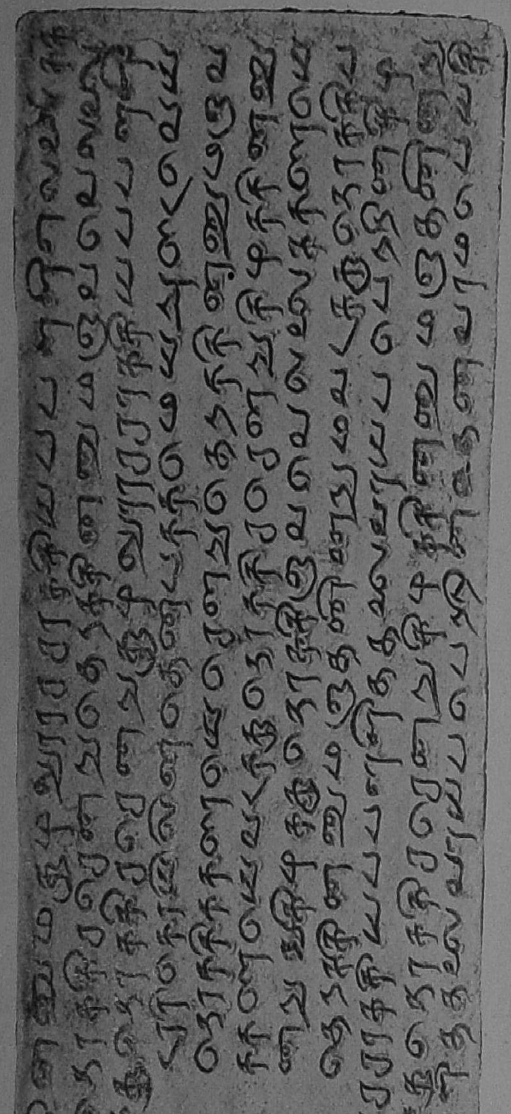


18th plate—2nd side : *Lines* 12 to 22

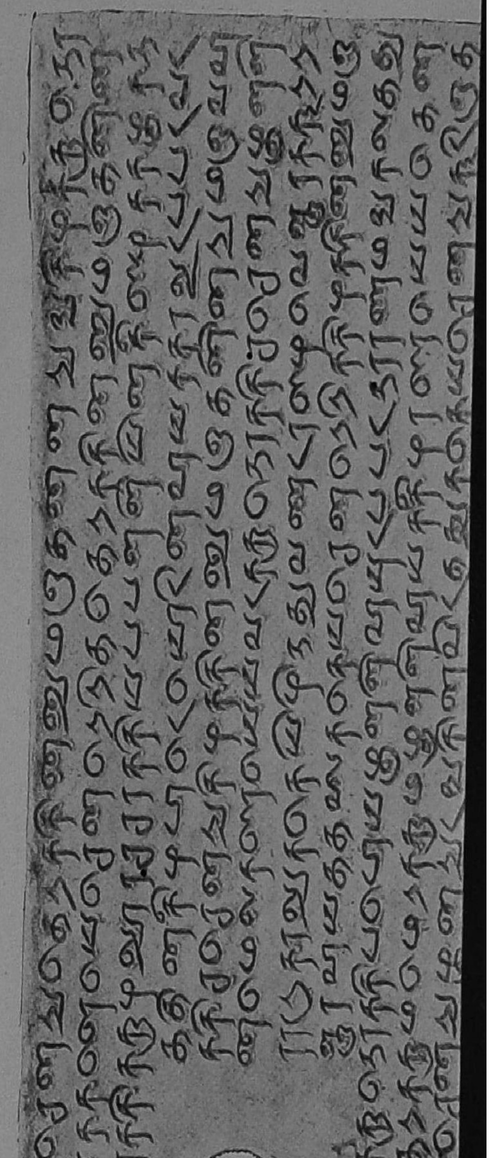




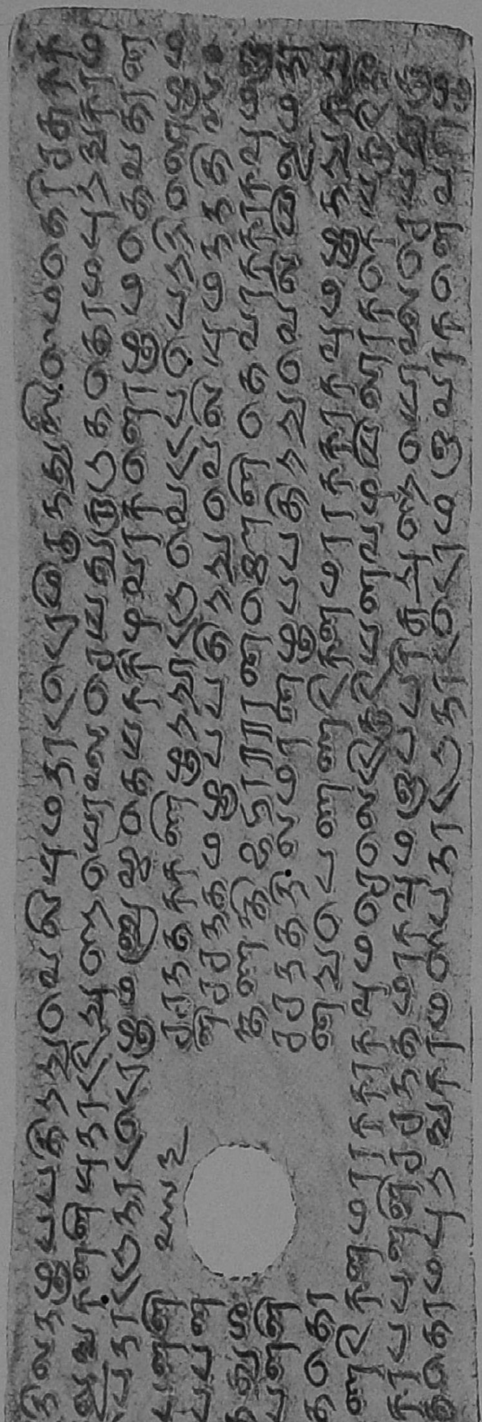
19th plate—2nd side: *Lines* 34 to 44

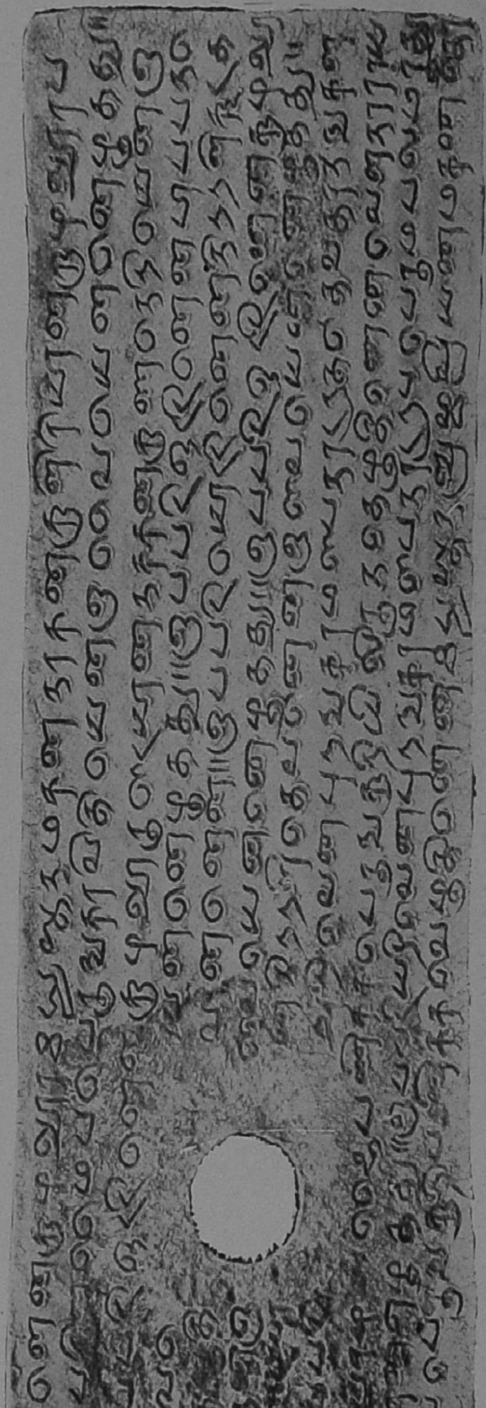


21st plate—1st side : *Lines* 1 to 11



21st plate—2nd side : *Lines* 12 to 22





23rd plate—2nd side: *Lines* 12-22

of Kiḷiyūr, (8) Nāgaṉ-Adiyaṉ of Tagaṭṭūr, (9) Kāḍan Śāttaṉ, the owner (*uḍaiyāṉ*) of Kuḍapulam in Umbaḷa-nāḍu, (10) ......

Fifteenth plate: This year the royal order (*tirumukam*) of the king (*uḍaiyār*) addressed to the assembly (*nāṭṭōm*) of Umbaḷa-nāḍu to the owners (*kiḻavargaḷ*) of the Brahmadēyas, and to those (of the assemblies) of the Dēvadānam, Paḷḷichchandam, Kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu and Vēṭṭappēṟu villages was received, to the effect that entire village of Danamalippūṇḍi in the sub-division *nāḍu* of Puṟaṅkarambai consisting of thirty *vēlis* has been given as *paḷḷich-chandam* free of taxes (*paḷḷichchanda iṟaiyili*) after removing the old tenants for the enjoyment of the Sundarachōḻapperumpaḷḷi erected by Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ, on purchase of the land from the merchant-guild (*nagarattār*) of Irumuḍichchōḻapuram in the sub-division Umbaḷa-nāḍu and that the *nāṭṭār* should determine the area, circumambulate the boundaries fixing stones and milk-bush. On receipt of the revenue account, order for proclamation and the royal order to the *nāṭṭār*, the boundaries were fixed under the supervision of Sembiyaṉ Brahma-mārāyaṉ the officer in charge of the survey of the sub-division (*in-nāḍu vagai śeykiṉṟa*). The details of the boundaries are then given commencing from the second side of the plate; beginning with the eastern boundary of the gift village. The river Muḷḷivāy running on the western side of the Brahmadēya village Nāraṇamaṅgalam in the Vaṇḍāḻai-vēḷūr-k-kūṟṟam and another Śiṅgaḷāṅtakaṉvāy, evidently a channel, are mentioned among the boundaries.

Eighteenth and nineteenth plates: The details of the boundaries are continued in these plates. The name of the village Aṭṭiyūr figures in these. The reservoir (*kōṭṭagam*) known as Kuḷaḷūr-viḷappagai-k-kōṭṭagam is mentioned in the nineteenth plate.

Twentyfirst plate: This also contains the details of the boundaries. The Buddhist temple (*Śākkiya-p-pāḷḷi*) of Kuḷalūr and the temple of Paḍāri (goddess) attached to the above Buddhist *paḷḷi*, the river Muḷḷivāy, the head of the channel of Vēḷūr of the Vaṇḍāḻaivēḷūr-k-kūṟṟam and Nāraṇamaṅgalam are mentioned. The description of the boundaries ends with the last line of the plate, wherein it is stated that it has come to the place wherefrom it originally commenced.

Twentythird plate: The area of this land of thirty *vēlis* was marked out and partitioned in the presence of the assembly of the

nāḍu (*nāṭṭōm*) planted with stones and milkbush and the order of proclamation prepared and given by us, the *nāṭṭōm* of Puṟaṅkarambaināḍu the owners (*kiḻavargaḷ*) of the Brahmadēyas, and those of the Dēvadāna, Paḷḷichchanda, Kaṉimuṟṟūṭṭu and Vēṭṭuppeṟ villages. This Paḷḷichchandam of thirty *vēlis* is for (the enjoyment of) Mauṉidēvar *alias* Chandra-Nandi Bhaṭārar of the Nandi-saṁgha. This Paḷḷichchanda land of thirty *vēlis* is for (the enjoyment of) one-fourth by the female ascetics and three fourths by the male ascetics and as *Kuḍiniṅgā-p-paḷḷichchandam* (without removal of tenants) by the descendants alone of Śelēṭṭi Kuḍiyaṉ. Thus the order of proclamation was made and given by the assembly (*nāṭṭōm*) of Puṟaṅkarambai-nāḍu. Written at their bidding by me Pēriḷamai-p-Peruṅkāvidi of Kuḷalūr *alias* Nāgaṉ Kuḷiri, son of the *madhyastaṉ* of Kuḷalūr.

The following signatures are also added in token of having agreed to and confirmed the above: (1) Nakkaṉ Guṇaneṟi of Kuḷalūr, (2) Pūdivāṉaṉ of Pāppantai, (3) Niṟṟaḷi Kūḍattāṉ, (4) Niṟṟaḷi Dēvaṉ the *uḍaiyāṉ* of Kuḷalūr, (5) Vēḷ Nārāyaṇaṉ, signed in the Peruṅkuṟi (the general assembly) at the bidding of the *sabhā* of the *dēvadāna* village Kaḷappāḷ in Puraṅkarambaināḍu, (6) To ...... son of *madhyastaṉ*, Brahmapriyaṉ, at the bidding of the *Peruṅkuṟi* assembly of Perumbal-Marudūr in Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu. ....

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA DURING 1958-59

21- 8-1958. Meeting to felicitate Dr. A. Aiyappan, Vice-President.
Speakers: Several members spoke in appreciation of Dr. Aiyappan's services to the Society.

31- 8-1958. Annual Meeting.
Speaker: H. E. Sri Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras, addressed the meeting and released the 3rd volume of the Transactions of the Society.

8- 9-1958. Subject: (1) Release of *Sarvadevavilāsa*, edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, Madras, released the book.
Speaker: C. J. Jayadev, M.A., L.T., Madras Museum.
Subject: (2) Tali Rite in South India.

20-10-1958. Speaker: Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras.
Subject: Early Pandyan Chronology.

22-10-1958. Speaker: Sri T. N. Subramaniam, Epigraphist and Historian, Madras.
Subject: A New Copper-plate Grant of the Early Pāṇḍyas.

11- 2-1959. Speaker: Dr. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Director-General of Archaeology in India (Retd.).
Subject: Science and Archaeology.

13- 2-1959. Speaker: Dr. J. Devasikhamany, L.M.P.
Subject: The Myth of the Aryan Race.

19- 4-1959. Speaker: T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India (Retd.).
Subject: The Latest Discoveries at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa.

30- 4-1959. Speaker: Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., Reader of Indian History and Archaeology (Retd.), Madras University.
Subject: Krishnadevaraya's Campaigns in the Gangetic Valley.